# The Mennonite Quarterly Review

VOLUME XXV OCTOBER 1951 NUMBER FOUR

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# EDITORIAL

More than time, four hundred and twenty-five years, lies between the 16th century Anabaptists and the modern Mennonites, their descendants. Great cultural and spiritual change also lies between, in some cases of tremendous extent. Some of this change was not only inevitable but desirable. Some of it is the normal process of cultural change that constantly goes on in any but a static group, and is no different from the change that takes place in the larger society, including the large state churches and denominations. But some of it is the insidious process of accommodation of the smaller distinctive minority to the larger general society which it originally repudiated, what some sociologists call the "sect cycle" in which the small group first breaks away from the main body in a sharply divergent, distinctive cultural and religious pattern, then gradually loses its distinctiveness under the pressure of the more powerful culture in which it is inbedded, and finally either formally merges again with the main stream or continues an only organizationally separate existence while in spirit and behavior wholly assimilated.

This process of cultural assimilation has gone on toward completion in the Mennonites of Europe, particularly in Germany, even though it has in some areas taken a much longer time than others, and is by no means final. Whether it is a desirable development or not may be evaluated differently depending upon one's point of view. Certainly the early Anabaptists, with their flaming protest against what they considered the betrayal of the Reformation and the abandonment of the New Testament vision of the church and the gospel, and with their readiness to suffer for their distinctive principles, as well as their powerful program of evangelism, and with their insistent demand for true discipleship, would find it hard to recognize themselves in some of their wealthy, nationalized, traditionalized, accommodated modern descendants in more than one Mennonite congregation today, and not only in Germany. This most significant process of gradual transformation is an intensely interesting one, even when it is tragic. It is well described in the first part of "The Mennonites in Germany Since the Thirty Years War" by Dr. Ernst Crous, the vice-chairman of the German Mennonite General Conference and the president of the German Mennonite Historical Society, retired departmental librarian of the Prussian State Library in Berlin, and editor of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon*. This point of view is clearly revealed in the original German title of this section, "How the Mennonites grew into the national Community," but actually it is continued also in the second part under the heading of "The Contribution of the Mennonites in Economics, Politics, and Cultural Life." This is the first scholarly comprehensive presentation of the topic and contains a wealth of specific detail not found elsewhere. Explanation and evaluation of this change is not undertaken by the author, both because of the limitation of space and the purpose of his presentation which was descriptively historical. The sociological and theological interpretation and evaluation remain to be done.

The second chapter of the history of Bernese Anabaptism by Delbert Gratz, that covering the 17th century, presents what is at one and the same time the "golden age" of the movement and its time of most severe tribulation and testing. Behind the sober and accurate historical account lies the reality of the powerful dynamic of a movement whose only resources were spiritual, a simple faith and obedience to the Bible, and a life wholly dedicated to Christ in the sincere following of His example. With the weapons of faith and love they fought a victorious battle against the Bernese state, whose only solution was forcible deportation. The small number of survivors in modern Bern of the crushing persecution of the 17th century is no measure of the victory, for a hundred times that number are to be found in the New World and elsewhere, and many of the ideas for which the movement stood live today far beyond the limited circle of even this larger group. The unfortunate Amish schism at the end of the century, a thoroughly sorry affair, inexplicable save as the expression of one man's weakness, probably did much to rob the movement of its power and turn it inwardly upon itself and into ultimate stagnation.

The relations between the Society of Friends and the Mennonites through the three centuries since the founding of the Quaker Movement by George Fox in England have followed a much varied pattern. In the last half of the 17th century, in Holland, Hamburg, Danzig, and Crefeld, Quaker missionaries saw in the Mennonites a "field white unto the harvest" and did not shrink from the most direct raiding of the flocks and the establishing of Quaker communities in the midst of Mennonite congregations (they won very few converts out of other confessions and few among the Mennonites). In Colonial Pennsylvania, on the other hand, the Mennonites found a haven of refuge and continued in the most friendly relations with the Quakers there. In

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The Mennonite Quarterly Review

VOLUME XXV OCTOBER 1951 NUMBER FOUR

# THE MENNONITES IN GERMANY SINCE THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

ERNST CROUS*

## I

*The Cultural Assimilation of the Mennonites in Language and Law.*

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, except for the small group of Hutterites in Moravia, the descendants of the Anabaptists (Mennonites) were to be found in larger groups only in Switzerland, the Netherlands, and in West Prussia (which then belonged to Poland), all outside of Germany although on its borders. Within Germany proper there were only the smaller groups on the Lower Rhine (Cologne to Emmerich), in East Frisia (Emden), and in Holstein (Hamburg-Altona to Friedrichstadt). About the middle of the seventeenth century (1650) the emigration from Switzerland down the Rhine into Germany began, and at the end of the seventeenth century the immigration to America, first

* The author, Dr. Ernst Crous of Göttingen, Germany, gave two lectures to the 1938 and 1939 annual meetings of the Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein (Germany), which were published in the *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter*, volumes 3 and 4, 1938 and 1939 under the titles, "Der Beitrag der Menoniten zum Wiederaufbau Deutschlands im Zeitalter des Dreissigjährigen Krieges" (1938, pp. 22-32) and "Wie die Mennoniten in die deutsche Volksgemeinschaft hineinwuchsen" (1939, pp. 13-24), both with good bibliographies. They were repeated in revised form in English to the Mennonite Historical Society at Goshen College in 1950. It is in this form that they are published here. They show what the Mennonites in Germany, in spite of their small number since the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), have accomplished in so many respects, and also how much their religious and church attitudes have been changed in the course of the three centuries since 1648. (Editor.)

from Crefeld in 1683 and a little later (1707) especially from the Palatinate. At the end of the eighteenth century (1785) the small movement came from South Germany to Galicia, and the much larger movement from West Prussia to Russia.

Owing to the great persecution of the Anabaptists in the sixteenth century, to which most of the original congregations of Anabaptists in Germany succumbed, most present Mennonite congregations within Germany are more or less settlements of refugees. To South Germany the Mennonites, as already mentioned, came again and again by the short route from Switzerland and Alsace; to Holstein and West Prussia they had come, usually by the longer sea route, from the Netherlands. East Frisia and the Lower Rhine congregations were also connected with the Netherlands by a thousand threads; to East Frisia many came from West Frisia in the Netherlands, while most of the Lower Rhine people came from the region of Jülich. Thus they were everywhere regarded as aliens who at the beginning lived there only by sufferance on concessions ("privileges") and thus could only slowly make themselves really at home. As late as 1686 the Elector of Cologne forbade any intercourse of his people with these "godless vagabonds."[1] In 1694 the Elector of the Palatinate cruelly persecuted them at Rheydt near Crefeld. And even in 1817 and 1818 the Prussian prefect of Braunfels near Giessen distrusted the Amish; for though they were quiet and sober, and industrious and good farmers, they had long beards and no buttons and attended neither (state) church worship nor religious instruction. Thus it required time for the Mennonite refugees to become adapted to the places where they lived.

### *Language*

Language was long a great barrier between the immigrant Mennonite and the native Protestant or Catholic. This was not so true in the South where the Swiss dialect was apparently soon given up and the High German literary idiom commonly used from the start; but in the North things were more complicated. I should mention at the outset that in the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth in Lower Germany the Bible was almost universally read in Low German. In the single century from 1523 to 1621 twenty-six Low German editions appeared at Wittenberg, Magde-

[1] Ernst Crous, *Wie die Mennoniten in die deutsche Volksgemeinschaft hineinwuchsen* (reprint from *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* IV, Karlsruhe, 1939), 13; *Beiträge zur Geschichte rheinischer Mennoniten (Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins* # 2, Weierhof, 1939), 38.

burg, and Hamburg on the Elbe, at Rostock in Mecklenburg, at Barth in Pomerania, and at Goslar at the foot of the Harz Mountains. For among the Protestants of these districts the Low German in general prevailed as the language of the church to the end of the sixteenth century, in the seventeenth century only slowly yielding to the High German. The Reformed emigrants from Holland maintained it for church purposes nearly to our very day.

Moreover, the political boundary between Germany and the Netherlands is not a linguistic boundary. This boundary line was crossed from north to south by the Frisian, Low Saxon, and Low Franconian dialects. In the seventeenth century Dutch garrisons were stationed at Emden and at Leer, and in fact East Frisia had nearly been admitted to the United Netherlands. No wonder that here at least the Low German was replaced in the beginning as the church language of the Reformed by the Dutch and not until the nineteenth century by the High German. The Reformed county of Bentheim on the western border, separated from Germany proper by moors, kept the Dutch church language in part even into the twentieth century. On the Lower Rhine the Lower Franconian dialect from which the Dutch literary language developed prevailed; Cleve from 1647 to 1679 was under the rule of a governor of the Orange family representing Brandenburg of which Cleve was a part; and Crefeld from 1600 to 1702 was under direct Orange rule (from 1688 to 1702 Crefeld was thus under the rule of the same William III as the Netherlands, England, and Pennsylvania). So in the Cleve area at some places down to the beginning of the nineteenth century Dutch was the language of sermons in the Reformed and even in the Catholic churches.

The Mennonites in their turn of course brought the church language of their old (Dutch) home with them into the new one. The congregations on the Dutch-German border so close to the Netherlands which enjoyed its political and cultural golden age in the seventeenth century naturally also felt the Dutch influence in the matter of their language. As early as 1563 the Cologne Anabaptist martyr, Matthias Cervaes, asked for a Dutch New Testament because his wife was not able to read the "upland" version. Yet naturally in the course of time the Dutch church language—in partly alien, partly changed surroundings, with no support from the language in general use—declined and was pushed aside. It is easy to understand that this development took place most rapidly on the most advanced Anabaptist-Mennonite outpost, in West Prussia around Danzig. Herbert Wiebe says: "With

certainty I can say that the Polish language during two centuries of Polish rule was not adopted by the Mennonites. To be sure the leases and other documents drawn up by the Polish authorities are couched in the Polish language; but all other records, agreements, and contracts made by the Mennonite inhabitants among themselves are written throughout in the German language. (Note: The Mennonites had full command of the German as well as the Dutch.) The private bills of sale and settlements of inheritance of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which I have examined were all written in German. The village register of Montau was kept only in German down to the Prussian time. A regulation of an *Erb-, Schlicht- und Teilungskontrakt* [Contract concerning inheritance, arbitration, and partition] of 1750 is characteristic of the situation. In that year Hansz Wohlgemuth at Gross Sanskau, upon the death of his wife Liske Baltzer, paid out the inheritance from the mother to his four children, whose guardians were Andreas and Clas Frantz of Montau. The neighbors at Montau, Abraham Schroeder, Dirk Kirber, Heinrich Unrau, and Gerdt Dirks, are mentioned as witnesses of the contract. According to this contract each child received 650 guilders, the sons each 36 guilders more to learn the Polish language, this being 180 years after the settlement of the Mennonites in this area!"[2] By 1671 Georg Hansen, later the elder of Danzig, lamented that the young people read German better than Dutch. So in the rural congregations at Heubuden in West Prussia in the 1750's and the city congregation at Danzig in the 1760's and 1770's the ministers began to preach their sermons in German. The last minister who wrote nearly all his letters in Dutch and who preached in Dutch to the end, was Hans van Steen, 1754-81 elder at Danzig; but at his funeral the children already sang a funeral hymn written by Hans Momber in High German. When soon afterwards the immigration to Russia began, the Dutch language had been practically dropped—a fact of highest importance for the subsequent history of Mennonitism not only in Russia but also in North and South America.

Farther to the west the proximity of the Netherlands was of strong influence; also the fact that the educated ministers whom the people there wished to have had to be obtained from the Netherlands or had to get their training in the Dutch universities and especially in the Mennonite theological seminary at Amsterdam. In 1786 at Hamburg and Altona Reinhard Rahusen first began the use of High German in the newly introduced services on weekdays;

[2] *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* (1936ff.) II (1937), 42.

in general the High German language was not used in sermons until 1839 and in the church records not until the 1880's. Crefeld employed the German after 1818, Friedrichstadt after 1826. Isaac Molenaar brought something of German classicism and German romanticism to Crefeld from Jena when he assumed the pastorate in 1818. Jacob Mannhardt, the son of a pupil of the Protestant "Stift" at Tübingen in Württemberg, came to Friedrichstadt in 1828 with his German language emphasis. About the congregation at Cleve on the Lower Rhine, the "hartje van Duitsland," its pastor as late as 1870 reported in Dutch in reply to an official inquiry that it originated from Mennonites coming from Nymegen in Holland in 1574 and some years later and had remained Dutch in language and church customs; but this congregation disappeared in 1895. At Emden in East Frisia on January 31, 1860, the first sermon in the German language was delivered in accordance with a request of some members of the congregation; since 1889 German has been regularly used for sermons, catechetical instruction, and the church record. In 1922 German was finally introduced also at Gronau in Westfalia where the congregation up to this date had been served from neighboring Enschede in the Netherlands. Situated right at the Dutch frontier, Gronau had also belonged to the counts of Bentheim referred to above.

### *Law*

Following the great destruction caused by the Thirty Years' War, men, able men, were badly needed. So for reconstruction even heretics were welcome, especially in the places of refuge which owe their origin or at least importance to this time, but also elsewhere. Thus, the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century having been nearly exterminated in Germany, the Mennonites from the Netherlands and from Switzerland could enter the country, as concessions opened the door to them. Some of these concessions, called *Privilegium,* were:

the privilege of Duke Friedrich III of Holstein-Gottorp, dated February 13, 1623, for Friedrichstadt,
" " " Count Rudolph Christian of East Frisia, dated May 26, 1626, for his country,
" " " King Christian IV of Denmark, dated June 6, 1641, for Altona in Holstein,
" " " King Wladislaw IV of Poland, dated December 22, 1642, for his country,
" " " Elector Karl Ludwig of the Palatinate, dated August 4, 1664, for his possessions,

" " " Count Friedrich of Wied,
dated December 16, 1680, for Neuwied on the Middle Rhine,
" " " King Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia,
dated January 30, 1721 for Crefeld.

These documents have been preserved in the original or in copy in various archives, most of them also in printed form, some in several editions.

Sometimes older "privileges" were renewed or extended, and also here and there they underwent certain revisions. Sometimes they were limited to a single place (Friedrichstadt, Altona, Neuwied, Crefeld). Elector Karl Ludwig expressly mentions the protracted war and its ruins, King Christian the importance of the immigrants for trade and commerce. Count Friedrich became the model for other princes of the Empire; he founded the town of Neuwied in the interests of his small territory just as a place of refuge for tolerated as well as "privileged" religious groups, hoping to secure as settlers at least part of those "useful" people who had to leave ruined homes elsewhere. The Mennonites were here allowed to conduct their own worship, though it had to be secretly and without making proselytes by "sweet words" (as it is put in the Altona "privilege"), and were exempt from attending the worship of the state church, holding public office, bearing arms, and taking the oath. They were even protected against "mockery" (as it is put in the Friedrichstadt "privilege"). For all this they only had to be recorded in special registers and to pay a special tax.

It was a good thing for the Mennonites that the democratic principle of equal rights for all was not yet in vogue. Thus when Friedrich Wilhelm II came to the throne and people had to swear allegiance to him, at Crefeld the Mennonites and also the Reformed clergy were only obliged to make an affirmation by shaking hands, whereas others had to swear a formal oath, the different groups standing separately in the assembly. Full citizenship was acquired only by degrees. In West Prussia it came at Elbing as early as 1585, at Königsberg and Marienburg *ca.* 1750, at Danzig in 1800. At Tönning in Schleswig-Holstein it came as early as 1607, at Crefeld in 1678, in the Palatinate and in Bavaria however not before 1801. And as late as 1768 a Hamburg case induced the Imperial Court at Wetzlar to recommend that in consideration of the changed times the Empire might admit the "oath of the Mennonites," as they put it, i.e., affirmation by handclasp as a substitute for the legal oath.

Legally indeed the Mennonites were handicapped in many ways. The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 granted full toleration only to Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Reformed. The imperial decree of 1529 (Diet of Speyer) proscribing the Anabaptists, and the tragic Anabaptist reign of terror at Münster in 1534/35, severely influenced general opinion for centuries. In later times their general nonconformity and their refusal to assume public office, to bear arms, and to take the oath, remained serious obstacles in the eyes of the world to recognizing the Anabaptists as fully accepted fellow citizens.

### *Nonresistance*

But on the other hand, the attitudes of the Mennonites themselves on their distinctive practices began to change gradually. From 1711 to 1782 one of the two mayors of Friedrichstadt was a Mennonite, first the father, then the son, Nikolaus and Peter Ovens. In 1766 the young Van der Smissens reported that on their "cavalier's tour" through western Europe at London they enjoyed seeing English soldiers drilling.[3] In 1804 the young men of the Neuwied congregation wanted to meet their new prince on horseback, with swords buckled on, like other young citizens.[4] Although the confession of faith by Cornelis Ris (1766 Dutch, 1776 German), a confession of the "milder sect," stressed that a Mennonite must repudiate public office, military arms, and taking an oath (Art. 28-30), and although the well-known resolutions of Ibersheim (where representatives of the Palatinate, Baden, Württemberg, Alsace, Nassau, and Wied met in 1803 and 1805)[5] also held fast to the older traditions regarding public office as well as military service, yet to quote Wilhelm Mannhardt, the very necessity of these resolutions proves that they were "the evening glow on the sky of the sunset of genuine Mennonitism at least in the Rhineland regions."[6] Also the French Revolution and its heir Napoleon proclaimed equal rights for all, which meant no refusal by citizens of military service because of conscientious scruples, substitutes or noncombatant service perhaps to be allowed, but nothing more. Mennonite delegates from the regions on the left bank of the Rhine (Alsace especially), which since 1795 belonged to France, were sent to Paris in vain to attempt to secure perpetuation of the old exemptions.[7]

[3] Christlicher Gemeinde-Kalender für *1892ff.* (1937), 109.
[4] Ernst Crous, *loc. cit.*, 17; Wilhelm Mannhardt, *Die Wehrfreiheit der Altpreussischen Mennoniten* (Marienburg, 1863), 55.
[5] Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, 55.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Mennonitisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt a. M. and Weierhof, 1913ff.), I, 560; W. Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, 55f.

So in South Germany as in Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands, the idea of nonresistance more and more faded away. If the congregations sometimes thought that even the paying of substitutes was against the principle, by and by even paying for the poor by the congregations was discontinued, since nonconcerned members opposed it. The really steadfast conscientious objectors—to use the modern term—emigrated to America. In the twentieth century the Palatinate catechism does not even mention nonresistance, and a Baden Mennonite farmer, asked why he did not follow the old order, answered: "If every man goes, we can't stay at home."[8]

In the kingdom of Prussia matters took their course more slowly than in Western Europe. The government was rather cautious not to hurt the religious feelings of its subjects. In the western provinces, especially in the Rhine Province, we find Crefeld and some other (smaller) congregations of a progressive mind but also a number of conservative Amish people. The king (Friedrich Wilhelm III) personally corresponded with the Crefeld congregation, where at least individual members in the 1820's fought successfully for the old privileges. In the Trier district all heads of families which had emigrated from the Palatinate, Lorraine, etc., were asked concerning their attitude in respect to nonresistance; yet even here the younger generation gradually broke away from the tradition. Nevertheless, the government discussed the question thoroughly; just for the Privy Council a special report was printed which treated the problem historically and with reference not only to theology and law, but also politics and economics.[9] Only after the report was published was a law passed (1830) exempting old families from military service, but imposing upon them a tax and the obligation to buy no more land and to make no converts. In 1848, when the first all-German parliament met at Frankfurt on the Main, Hermann von Beckerath, a Mennonite of Crefeld, one of the delegates to the parliament, following the prevalent opinion, opposed any exemption from military service for anyone, including Mennonites.

In the eastern provinces also, especially (West and East) Prussia proper, the question of nonresistance was agitated.[10] In 1850 the elder of the Orlofferfelde congregation, Peter Fröse (died 1853), wrote a pamphlet supporting nonresistance;[11] in 1861 his

[8] *Christliche Welt* (Wünsch, 1941), col. 324.
[9] In *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Berlin.*
[10] W. Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, gives the full account of this matter up to the time of writing in 1863.
[11] Copy in Goshen College Library.

congregation backed his views. But already by 1852 the king (Friedrich Wilhelm IV) told a deputation of West Prussia elders that the decision no longer lay with the king, but must be decided by parliament. Thereupon 1853-1860 some 250 families emigrated to Alexanderthal on the Volga in Russia to secure the complete freedom from military service which was now in grave doubt in Prussia. In 1867 the first session of the (liberal) Parliament of the North German Union acted to require universal military service for the whole Union (which became the German Empire in 1871), at the same time repealing the old restrictions for Mennonites, and in 1868 the (conservative) king, William I, whom again a delegation of West Prussian elders interviewed, as war lord only would allow noncombatant service for sons of the old Mennonite families.

The reactions among the Mennonites were manifold: Wilhelm Mannhardt, who in 1863 had written a book to defend nonresistance,[12] in 1868-70 wrote a number of articles in his father's *Mennonitische Blätter* to advocate the new order, for purely religious reasons. The progressive Danzig congregation henceforth allowed each member to decide for himself on his method of his fulfilling military duties, and logically followed by permitting mixed marriages also.[13] The dual congregation Montau and Gruppe divided in 1871 when the elder, Peter Bartel, one of the deputies to Berlin, demanded of every applicant for baptism a promise to do only noncombatant service.[14] Concerning the largest West Prussian congregation, Heubuden, we read in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* II, 311: "The repeal of the exemption clause concerning military service by the law of November 9, 1867, caused a severe crisis, which, especially in the Heubuden congregation lasted a long time and became critical. The elder (Wiebe, who soon migrated to Russia), the ministers, and part of the congregation repudiated compulsory service in any form, hoping the military law might still be altered. But the largest part of the congregation was ready to accept the military service in the form permitted to Mennonites (noncombatant) by the cabinet order of March 3, 1868. So a deep and painful schism divided the congregation; from the fall of 1874 to the summer of 1876 no communion was celebrated. In 1876 there were only five applicants for baptism (in a congregation of more than 1,000 souls!). On March 30, 1877, the elder Gerhard Penner, who suffered from heart trouble, emigrated to Beatrice, Nebraska. The minister and

[12] *Ibid.*
[13] H. G. Mannhardt, *Die Danziger Mennonitengemeinde* (Danzig, 1919), 177.
[14] *Menn. Lex.* I, 127f.; II, 196; III, 163.

deacons, all but two, left the church and held their services in a private house. The other part of the congregation under the leadership of the elder Claas Friesen of Rosenort chose ministers and deacons and decided on October 28, 1877, that the members might do military service according to the cabinet order. October 25, 1878, Wilhelm Fast was elected elder. [In 1873 Elder Wilhelm Ewert of the Obernessau congregation near Thorn emigrated to Kansas, followed later by a considerable part of his members.] From 1876 to 1892 fifty-five families and twenty-nine single persons left for Kansas and Nebraska. So the emigration of more than 100 years came to an end."

Several decades later (1913), of 59 Mennonite soldiers only 21 were doing noncombatant service and in two decades more (1933) a resolution was passed by the German Mennonite General Conference (*Vereinigung*) deciding not to ask for any special privileges for Mennonites as to military service. Military service was thought of not so much as conduct leading to killing, but as a sacrifice of one's own life for a common cause. As a Roman poet put it: *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* (It is satisfying and fitting to die for your country). Or according to their understanding of John 15:13: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." In both world wars many Mennonites became officers, received war decorations, or were killed in action. After both wars compulsory service was dropped and a revival of nonresistance took place, especially fostered by Christian Neff and Erich Göttner (after World War I) and Christian Schnebele and Ulrich Hege (after World War II).

### *The Oath*

The problem of the oath could in general be more easily solved. Since 1807 (Württemberg) gradually most of the German states have made provision for Mennonites as to the oath in the courts and for officeholders; but no all-German regulation was to be obtained. When after World War I the so-called secular oath (without referring to God) was introduced, the Mennonites opposed it as they had the religious oath. In 1935 an all-German order permitting the affirmation instead of the oath for the armed forces was secured after short negotiations. But since the National Socialist Party stressed the importance of the oath for the maintenance of their regime, using it in manifold ways according to the circumstances and the people concerned, the problem of the oath became serious. A definite exemption was secured for the labor service

(which the young people had to endure before they entered the armed forces), but not until 1944 and only after long negotiations, Himmler himself making the decision in favor of the Mennonites.

## II

### *German Mennonites in Economics and Politics.* *Economics*

What German Mennonites have achieved in the field of economics, especially during the eighteenth century, may be seen best by undertaking a circular tour through the Mennonite settlements from east to west along the Baltic and the North Sea, and from north to south along the Rhine.

In *West Prussia,* for centuries under Polish rule, the decisive start of Mennonite economic contributions of consequence began a hundred years earlier than elsewhere, already in the days when Menno Simons visited the brethren there. In this area Mennonite settlements orginated in the 1530's in the Little Marienburg Werder (Markushof, etc.). They began in 1547 in the Danzig Werder (Reichenberg, etc., sponsored by Philipp Fresen of Edzema), in 1550 in the lower part of the Great Marienburg Werder (Tiegenhof, etc., sponsored by Simon Loitze), in 1564 in the Schwetz-Kulmer Niederung (lowland) on both sides of Graudenz (Montau, etc.) and in 1565 in the upper part of the Great Marienburg Werder (Heubuden, etc.). In the Hanseatic cities of Danzig and Elbing there have been congregations since *ca.* 1560. "The draining and clearing of the Vistula lowlands, the tasks for which our ancestors had been summoned into the country, turned out to become their lasting achievement and their historical merit."[15]

The hall of the Imperial Farmers' Organization at the Green (farmers') Week in Berlin, 1935—in a department showing the peasants' struggle for their land—exhibited a document of King Wladislaw IV (1632-48) of Poland dated 1642 concerning the Mennonites (*see* "Privileges") declaring that King Sigismund Augustus (1546-72) had summoned their ancestors in a district "which then was a desolate swamp and not used. With great effort and large expenditure they have made this district fertile and profitable by turning woodland into arable land and establishing pumps in order to remove the water from the inundated grounds covered with mud and to erect dikes against the floods of the Vistula." Below this document stood a statement to the effect that in connection with

[15] *Menn. Geschichtsbl.* II (1937), 39.

this draining and clearing work not less than 80 per cent of these Mennonite farmers had perished "of marsh-fever"[16]

And even in 1937 in the Free State of Danzig and adjacent West Prussia Mennonites were chairmen or vice-chairmen of associations to promote the cattle, milk, and meat supply, or the sugar trade and cultivation of turnips, were agricultural experts and dike-reeves; one of them was manager of the state bank. So it is not surprising that at the Mennonite World Conference 1930 at Danzig the Senator of Danzig in charge of religious affairs declared: "The Mennonites are a valuable part of our population which we cannot overlook in the national, cultural, and economic life of the Free City of Danzig; they therefore here enjoy a high esteem."[17]

As to Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, and Lübeck in the North, on the west coast especially, men also fought the sea for land and life, Mennonites among them in the front ranks. In the seventeenth century Jan Classen Kotte built a dike, in the eighteenth Adam Teekes a harbor. And behind the dikes cheese making and the miller's trade remind us of the Dutch origin of our brethren there. At Friedrichstadt the Mennonites, though the congregation (the peninsula of Eiderstedt included) never comprised even half a thousand souls, built entire streets of houses. Beginning in 1633 a model nursery supplied the environs with young trees, flowers, and fruits. At the turn of the century they controlled the larger part of the trade of the town. Already in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they were to be found in all trades: they were bakers and butchers, millers and oil pressers, distillers and brewers, tailors and shoemakers, weavers and dyers, wool carders, hatters, and soap boilers, masons and carpenters, smiths and glaziers, millwrights and shipbuilders, shopkeepers and wholesale dealers, in possession of a sugar factory and a starch factory.[18]

Gysbert van der Smissen, born at Haarlem, Holland, journeyman of the bakers' guild at Friedrichstadt on the Eider (Schleswig), moved southward; from 1644 to 1677, for a whole generation, particularly as a shipowner, he contributed much to the prosperity of Glückstadt, Holstein. And then he moved once more to the south, to Altona (Holstein), also on the Elbe River, a newly

[16] *Menn. Geschichtsbl.* IV (1939), 56.

[17] *Mennonitische Welt-Hilfs-Konferenz vom 31. August bis 3. September 1930 in Danzig* (Karlsruhe, 1931), 22.

[18] Robert Dollinger, *Geschichte der Mennoniten in Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg und Lübeck (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins* 17, Neumünster i.H., 1930), 31.

founded city like Glückstadt and Friedrichstadt. Here also the double congregation of the twin cities, the free city of Hamburg and Danish royal Altona, even at its height, was hardly twice as large as that of Friedrichstadt. Nevertheless the historian of Altona, Wichmann, is of the opinion that this city owes its development in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries especially to the Mennonites.[19] Particularly on the sea they took the lead. A Mennonite loaded the first ship to Archangelsk in the north of Russia; whaling became a Mennonite specialty; for some time nearly all ships bound for Greenland belonged to the Mennonites.

It is worth while to read what Ethelbert Stauffer, for some time assistant pastor of the Mennonite congregation at Hamburg-Altona, now professor at the university of Erlangen in Bavaria, tells about the son of the former journeyman baker, Hinrich van der Smissen (I), the chief of the most important trading firm of Altona at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the city builder, the "shining example" for contemporaries and posterity, as he was called:

"Born in Glückstadt, early thrown upon his own resources, he began his career as a sailor to Greenland, then for a time made his way as a schoolteacher in Norway, and at the age of 23 took over the pastry shop which his father had opened shortly before in Altona on Elbbrücke Street. He had only slender means, but he made his way by desperate industry. Meanwhile he was offered a share in a Greenland shipping company, accepted it, quickly secured the leadership, won general confidence, soon received preference within and without Germany for commissions and shipping projects, and forced recognition at one place after another in spite of the jealous attacks of Hamburg merchants who were beginning to lose some of their trade. He used his surplus to establish an industrial concern in which shipbuilding, sawmills, and iron foundries were integrated with his shipping business. He soon added a second bakery to the first, then a starch factory and a cereal mill. The big Mennonite breweries fell into his hands and made rapid progress. The whole textile tradition from Brabant (his own family background) was revived and led to the establishment of carding and dyeing works. Fire, war, and depression all conspired against him—in 1713 alone he lost 50,000 taler. But he met all reverses with double energy, and the hard times which caused others to despair only brought to the fore the elasticity and doggedness of his entrepreneur spirit. Work was the meaning and content of his life, and well could

[19] Wichmann, *Geschichte von Altona*, 1865.

it be so, for his work was not only a service to work, but a service to life, yes, a service to beauty. He was the chief taxpayer, contributor, and lender of the city, the chief employer, the chief builder. He built workmen's houses and whole blocks of shops. Building was to him a passion. He donated land for the broadening of Palmaille Street, laid out Van der Smissen Avenue, laid out parks and boulevards along the Elbe, becoming a member of the City Building Commission in 1713, and built the Van der Smissen family residence at Elbbruecke One, the dream of his old age. And through all his great house and through all his great business and enterprise and his whole life he moved as one who possessed as though he possessed not. For he had more than possessions."[20]

At Hamburg, half a century later, Van der Smissen's counterpart was Berend Roosen, the leading shipowner of the leading commercial city of Germany. Exaggerated stories spoke of his 99 ships, 100 not being allowed. He was the proprietor of the big Reiherstieg wharf, indeed a kingly merchant. His engraved portrait enumerates the ports visited by his ships, the places of his correspondents: Livorno (Italy), Lisbon and Oporto (Portugal), London (England), Amsterdam (Netherlands), Bremen and Breslau (Germany), St. Petersburg and Archangelsk (Russia).[21]

Whaling had been so great an industry in Hamburg and Altona that even in 1674-75 five per cent of the net profits of one haul was sufficient to erect the first Mennonite church there. Later on, in consequence of the economic revolution of the Napoleonic era whaling and sailing to Greenland and shipping trade were discontinued by the Mennonites, but the Mennonite wholesale merchant was to be found in Hamburg as before.

As to East Frisia with the congregations of Emden and Norden, Leer and Neustadt-Goedens (Emden being the oldest congregation in Germany, founded in 1530), a good deal to the west of Hamburg, the Mennonites in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were living rather scattered in the western part of the territory as tenants, linen weavers, and linen drapers. The fees and taxes paid by them were of great importance for the treasury of His Lordship, the ruler of East Frisia. And not only their taxes. When the mourning and funeral expenses of "our once sincerely

[20] Ethelbert Stauffer, "Die Mennonitengemeinde in Hamburg-Altona" (*Hamburgische Kirchenzeitung 1928* and *Mennonitische Blätter*, 1929). See also Heinz Muente, "Das Altonaer Handelshaus van der Smissen" (*Altonaische Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Heimatkunde* 2, Altona, 1936).

[21] *Menn. Geschichtsbl.* III (1938), 37f. See also B. K. Roosen, *Geschichte unseres Hauses* (Hamburg, 1905).

loved lady consort in these hard times" (1723) were beyond the ability of Prince Georg Albrecht to pay, there were long negotiations for a cash advance of 3,000 Rtlr; for already in 1644 the Mennonites had made a loan of 6,000 Rtlr to the Count Ulrich II and in 1658 a present of this sum to his son, Prince Enno Ludwig.[22] A statement of the administrator Johann Dietrich Kettler at Norden to the prince in 1708 runs thus:

"In addition, I must give the Mennonites this testimonial that they have made themselves indispensable to the common well-being and are very helpful to the poor to such an extent that if the Mennonite residents were not here I would see no means by which we could meet the taxes as well as we do now, since the Mennonites pay more than most residents, and if they are not able to pay promptly, they make a deposit or make other provisions. On the other hand it is not so easy to get along with the other merchants of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. Not to mention that the Mennonites keep the value of the land high. Since not only some of those who are living in the city at present lease royal lands, but they also equip the young people present among them so that they may also rent land, it would look bad in many respects if we did not have the Mennonites here."[23]

Later on, in the wholesale and sea trade, the Mennonites in East Frisia played a prominent role. In the eighteenth century especially the Bouman family at Emden controlled oil mills and distillery, the grain trade, shipping trade and whaling—you see it much the same in several places—and the van Horn, Rahusen, Bavink and Vissering families at Leer were wholesale merchants.[24] For the nineteenth and beginning twentieth centuries at Norden the Ten Doornkaat-Koolmans, at Emden the Brons, at Leer the Brouer families, are to be mentioned; that they were people of consequence is frequently evident by their being appointed to consulships or having the title of *Kommerzienrat* (councilor of commerce) or even *Geheimer Kommerzienrat* (privy councilor of commerce). In 1869 King Wilhelm I of Prussia was a guest of Isaac Brons at Emden and Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, his son, a guest of Jan ten Doornkaat-Koolman at Norden.[25] In 1891/92 the Mennonites at Emden paid on the average about ten times as much in taxes per capita as a Roman Catholic, Reformed, or Lutheran. But if there

[22] *Menn. Lex.* III, 320.

[23] Abraham Fast, *Die Kulturleistungen der Mennoniten in Ostfriesland und Münsterland* (Emden, 1947), 4.

[24] *Ibid.*, 12.

[25] *Ibid.*, 9 and 11.

was a saying that only rich people were Mennonites, it must be also said that money had not come to them overnight. Isaac Brons, for instance, when only seventeen years old, lost his father, after his father had already lost his fortune in consequence of the wars of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period, and so, being the oldest, had to begin anew for his mother and the six younger children.

Whereas the traffic from Schleswig and Holstein and Hamburg by sea and (via the duchies of Bremen and Oldenburg) by land to East Frisia was lively, for a long time the bishoprics of Münster and Osnabrück along the Dutch frontier attracted the Mennonites little. In Münsterland they did not settle until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 1839 in the district of Osnabrück, Wilm Stroink, grandson of a former mayor, and his father-in-law, Jan van Delden of Deventer (in the Dutch province of Overijssel) founded a weaving mill, dye house, and spinning mill at Nordhorn. In 1883 members of the van Delden family also founded textile factories at Ahaus and Koesfeld in the district of Münster. The Westfalian Jute Spinning Mill of the van Deldens at Ahaus in 1933 employed 1,100-1,200 workers in a town of about 7,000 inhabitants.

But the center of the Mennonite settlements in Westphalia (Münster) is Gronau in Kreis Ahaus. In 1854 Matthieu, a son of the Jan van Delden of Nordhorn, founded a spinning mill, a weaving mill, etc., at Gronau, and in 1876 Gerrit, a brother, cotton spinning works which were the largest in the European continent and for a long time imported most of the Egyptian cotton. It is not surprising that under such circumstances Hendrik van Delden (d. 1950), the son of Gerrit, was given an honorary doctor's degree by the Technical University at Hannover, but was also made president, first of the German, and then of the International Union of Spinning Mills. A third mill for spinning cotton was founded at Gronau by the Mennonite Stroink family.

Farther south again old Mennonite settlements existed both up and down the Rhine; down the Rhine just south of the Netherlands, were the duchy of Cleve, the lordship of Crefeld, and also the county of Wied containing Neuwied (all later on parts of the Prussian Rhine Province); up the Rhine, just north of Switzerland were Alsace, Baden, and the Palatinate.

On the Lower Rhine, in the congregations of Emmerich, Rees, Cleve, and Goch, and especially Crefeld, for some time as also in East Frisia, the weaving of linen was the dominant occupation. Abraham Welsing of Rees, who became a citizen of Cleve in 1671,

as late as 1716 was working here with 8 weaver's looms, 10 bondmen, 24 boys, and 100 women. But what was that compared with the silk industry of the von der Leyen family at Crefeld? Brought to Crefeld by this family, and now the economic mainstay of Crefeld, this craft has given rise to the saying, "Crefeld hangs by a silk thread." The world-renowned von der Leyen firm in all its branches, in 1768 employed 724 machines and more than 3,000 workers in Crefeld and its neighborhood, whereas the whole town had only 6,000 inhabitants. Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia paid the family a visit and his great son, Friedrich II, came repeatedly. The former summed up his impressions by stating that the Crefeld Mennonites had to be tolerated for reasons of state and for the principles of the Gospel, the more so since they were good Christians. The latter, regarding Crefeld and its (chiefly Mennonite) manufacturies as a treasure, made the brothers Friedrich and Heinrich von der Leyen councilors of commerce (which then meant more than later on); and his successor, Friedrich Wilhelm II, appointed the next generation of the von der Leyens privy councilors of commerce, at the same time raising them to the nobility. Not referring to the von der Leyens alone, in 1789 (Crefeld and its environs then counting about 8,000 inhabitants), the Prussian government at Cleve reported to the king that among the 1,485 artisans there were 625 Mennonites of considerable means and splendid knowledge and ability, and that Crefeld owed its well-being and its wealth almost exclusively to them.

In the nineteenth century the big firm of the von der Leyens disappeared, as did also the corresponding firms at Hamburg and Altona. But new enterprises sprang up, sometimes from only small beginnings, and each generation again brought forth able men. Hermann von Beckerath (d. 1870), who founded a bank of his own and was successful in managing it, was the son of a ribbon-weaver (and bailiff) and coined the often quoted saying, "my cradle stood next to my father's loom."[26] He and his son-in-law, Karl Wilhelm Crous (d. 1904), a big dealer in raw silk, were members of the Chamber of Commerce. And at the turn of the century once more a Mennonite was the biggest taxpayer, Heinrich Müller-Brüderlin (d. 1917) who developed his inherited business to a high degree; of course he also became a member of the Chamber of Commerce and was given the title of a councilor of commerce.

Up the Rhine from Holland, down the Rhine from Switzerland where he was born, Lorenz Friedenreich, the elder of the

[26] *Christlicher Gemeinde-Kalender* (1903), 44.

congregation at Neuwied, traveled again and again. When Goethe, Lavater, and Basedow on their journey down the Rhine in the summer of 1774—so often recorded—came to Neuwied ("Prophet to the right, prophet to the left, worldling in the middle"), they paid a visit to Friedenreich and to Peter Kinzing as well. "Splendid faces, full of simplicity and honor," was the entry of Lavater, the physiognomist, about the two Mennonites and their families in his diary.[27] They looked at the microscopes and artistic musical clocks; for Kinzing was a gifted mechanic and clockmaker whom travelers of that day did not easily pass unnoticed. "A harp clock," we read in another diary, "played with extraordinary loveliness; but the flute clock seemed to surpass all that human hands had hitherto produced."[28] "He manufactures," we read in another instance, "all kinds of large artistic clocks, most of which have made their way into the French, Russian, Prussian, Saxon, Württemberg, and other German courts."[29] On the occasion of a trip to France, he was there made "clockmaker to the Queen." The highly valued writing desks of the Moravian David Roentgen owe a large share of their fame to the clocks which Kinzing built into them.

And once more in another frame the same picture is shown to us by the Palatinate on both sides of the Rhine (after 1815 the name was restricted to those parts which remained in possession of the Wittelsbachs, i.e., became parts of Bavaria—the Rhenish Palatinate on the left bank of the Rhine west of Ludwigshafen and the Upper Palatinate on the left bank of the Danube north of Regensburg) and the settlements in Baden and since the nineteenth century also in Württemberg and in Bavaria to the East.

For the eighteenth century we report in the following paragraphs on Jacob Möllinger at Neustadt an der Haardt, who was also a gifted clockmaker, and add more about two remarkable persons.

Just before the beginning of a new period in the life of Germany and in their own life, the Amish and the Mennonites of the Palatinate commissioned the "illustrious printer of court and chancery" Johann Friedrich Seelig at Pirmasens to print the first and only European edition of the *Martyrs' Mirror* in German translation,[30] the most outstanding of all books of this kind in all denominations. The first American edition, also a German enter-

[27] *Beiträge zur Geschichte rheinischer* Mennoniten, 149.

[28] Philipp Andres Nemnich, *Tagebuch einer der Kultur und Industrie gewidmeten Reise* (Tübingen, 1809).

[29] August Joseph Ludwig Graf von Wackerbarth,, *Rheinreise* (Halberstadt, 1794).

[30] *Menn. Lex.* III, 52.

prise and the largest American book of the colonial period, was used as pattern. The 105 copperplates of the valuable etchings of Jan Luyken from the second Dutch edition of 1685, published about 100 years earlier, were used to illustrate the new edition too. An old letter reports that the editors wanted to have good paper and a new type font from Strasburg prepared for them, since they hoped with the help of the Lord to make it a fine book.[31] So in 1780 the stately volume of more than 1,250 pages in folio, in two slightly different editions, saw the light of day. The copy for the sovereign of the printer, the landgrave of Hesse, has been preserved in the library of Darmstadt (in accord with the value of the book and the position of the receiver brilliantly bound in leather of different colors) and could be displayed at the *Mennonitentag* at Regensburg in 1938.

The sound basis of such endeavors, which tended toward the intellectual and spiritual here as elsewhere, was to be found in economic achievement. In the north it was the shipping trade and manufacturing; here it was agriculture, generally considered the Mennonite occupation proper, in addition to linen weaving and particularly the miller's trade.

So, as the first among others that brilliant figure, David Möllinger of Monsheim, enters the scene. His (and Goethe's) friend Jung-Stilling characterized him as the Holy Roman Empire's archfarmer.[32] The expert Johann Nepomuk von Schwerz ends his technical statements on the work of Möllinger with these words:

"A general revolution of the field system was to follow. The system of letting the field lie fallow every alternate year was abandoned, the soil was improved by the cultivation of esparsette (a variety of clover), the number of cattle tripled, the fertility of the soil improved, and the sources of enjoyment increased. And all this the Palatinate owes to a single man—a Mennonite."[33] It might be added that an unknown poet says on Möllinger's tombstone, "He worked as if he wished to live forever, and prayed as if he would die daily."

A French marquis gives his personal impression thus: "You will believe that you have come to one of the old patriarchs . . . he is the manager and gives orders as to what the day's work shall be, and is the head, the government, and the ruler of his family; he manages to correlate everything in harmony so that the most perfect

[31] Christian Neff, "Der Pirmasenser Neudruck des Bragh't'schen Märtyrerspiegels vom Jahre 1780" (*Pirmasenser Geschichtsblätter*, 1936).
[32] Ernst Correll, *Das schweizerische Täufermennonitentum* (Tübingen, 1925), 122.
[33] *Ibid.*, 125.

harmony reigns among his sons and daughters, sons-in-law and daughters-in-law . . . but one must not imagine him as a mere peasant; like a merchant he speculates in Marseilles, and by his speculations has made large sums. Nevertheless, he is not a usurer. In general, throughout Germany, the Anabaptists, the Moravians, . . . the Huguenots have a reputation for honesty and uprightness. Furthermore, they are paid for their wares what they demand. . . . Sir, my Anabaptist related to me . . . (he deserves to become as famous as a great artist) . . . , when I came here about thirty years ago, everyone would have thought twice before lending me one hundred talers; now probably anyone would be glad to lend me five hundred times as much. I began the work in the name of God and I succeeded. I have my one hundred steers in the barn and the other cattle I don't count at all . . . . Since . . . I have grown children, I do not work with my hands; but I get up every morning at two o'clock to see that the cattle are properly fed, give instructions for the day's work and then lie down again. . . . I have been asked by princes and other great gentlemen to describe my establishment and how I went about it; but I am not able to explain it . . . one thing simply follows another. It is like the works of a clock where one wheel sets another in motion and so the work progresses; I do not quite know myself, and I am unable to state how I have set the machinery in motion."[34]

It may be said that the descendants of this "father of the agriculture of the Palatinate" and of others like him do not fall short of the older generation. In the fall of 1935 the seed inspector of a district in Upper Bavaria reported to a large meeting that the Mennonite farmers had won by a narrow margin over their competitors. And again in 1949 the authorities gave a similar testimony to Elder Michael Horsch of Hellmannsberg, near Ingolstadt, Bavaria, when buried there in the presence of a thousand people.

### *Politics*

In proportion to the removal of legal obstacles, public life and state offices became accessible to the Mennonites, first in the West and then also in the East. The example of Friedrichstadt, which at first was not much followed, was more and more imitated after the turn of the nineteenth century. Friedrichstadt itself chose a third Mennonite mayor, Jans Jelle Schuett, who had emigrated from Ameland in the Netherlands in 1804. In 1806 he was already a member of the church council; in 1856 he was dubbed a Knight of

[34] *Ibid.*, 125f.

the Danebrog by the Danish king for his services as mayor of long standing. A Prussian order had already been conferred upon preacher (the king himself corrected the term "rector" used in the draft of the document) Hidde Wibius van der Ploeg, up to 1818 at Crefeld, then until 1850 at Emmerich, Goch and Cleve, and then only at Goch, where he died a few years later.

As a member of the first all-German Parliament in the Church of St. Paul at Frankfurt on the Main in 1848, the city of Crefeld delegated the Mennonite Hermann von Beckerath, whom his kings appreciated in spite of variant political opinions; and the city of Emden sent the Mennonite Isaac Brons, who in the poverty of his youth had the privilege as well as the obligation of binding the works of his beloved Schiller. The former became Minister of Finance to the empire about to be founded and in 1862 chairman of the permanent committee of the German Merchants' Union. The latter fought in the National League and in an East Frisian Navy League, founded by him with others, for a united and great Germany. Hermann von Beckerath especially interceded in favor of equal rights for dissidents (the Mennonites among them) and Jews with the rest of the population, these endeavors obviously having the same root as his opposition against privileges for the Mennonites in respect to military service (see above). Despite all his loyalty to his own denomination he sought justice for everyone upon whose brow God has affixed the imperishable seal of His image and whom He leads to His goal on variant ways.

From the Palatinate the Mennonite Peter Eymann was sent by the vote of his fellow citizens in the same fateful year (1848) into the Bavarian Diet at Munich, and the Mennonite Heinrich Stauffer was elected in 1903 into the German Parliament. The former had been mayor of the village of Frankenstein in the Palatinate, the latter a member of several local councils from 1896 on.

At Crefeld alone, after Bismarck, two of the three to whom the honorary freedom of the city was conferred were deacons in the Mennonite congregation. The little finger, by which according to a joke the Grand Duke of Hesse ruled his state in 1884-1898, was the Secretary of State Jacob Finger, who throughout his life remained a faithful member of the Mennonite congregation of Monsheim in Rhenish Hesse. Among the Mennonites killed in action during World War I there were three times as many officers as among the other denominations; so even in a field which they had entered with hesitation they distinguished themselves.

As to public offices, the Mennonite directory of 1936 may be consulted to show that Mennonites are to be found in most of the civil services (many of which indeed in present Germany have nothing to do with government proper), and in most ranks of functionaries. There are clerks and senior clerks, inspectors and senior inspectors and several kinds of councilors with the railways, post-office and telegraph, administration and jurisdiction, finances, taxes and customs; and also several councilors of academic training in schools and libraries, architecture, court and civil service proper; and even others holding a lower or higher office in the police, army, navy, or air force.

Though as of today, farmers in the country, merchants in the cities, and physicians and dispensers among the so-called liberal professions prevail, so far as Mennonite occupations are concerned, at Crefeld as well as in Berlin one seems to meet a Mennonite in nearly every government office, be it in a high or only a low position. No doubt, this development has weakened and even put an end to the earlier nonconformity and even resulted in breaking through the limits of the brotherhood. Indeed all action entails the danger of overstepping the set bounds, though perhaps unintentionally—and yet we are to trade with the pounds or talents put in our charge. As Schiller puts it:

If you don't stake life,
Never you'll gain life.

## III

### *The Contribution of Mennonites in German Cultural Life and Religion.*

### *Cultural Life*

Cultural life—research, art, and general welfare of body and soul—like the rest of public life after the Thirty Years' War, was gradually entered more and more by the Mennonites.

At Elbing, at Friedrichstadt, at Norden they chose stately well-designed dwelling houses as places for their meetings; at Norden quite unusually one of enchanting richly colored rococo. At Friedelsheim in the Palatinate they settled in an old castle; at the Spitalhof in the Palatinate they took over the chapel of an old monastery. The churches of the West Prussian rural congregations of the eighteenth century, outwardly like barns situated in the fields, were in recent years taken under government protection as monuments of art. The small church at Neuwied, also of the

eighteenth century, had by order of the Count of Wied to be adapted in style to the palace just opposite to it. Their own buildings in the North and South, in all their simplicity, stress their peculiar character: at the Weierhof in the Palatinate, the elevated site; at Crefeld later on the circle of columns gave a special note. Even during World War I at Altona on Mennonite Street a building was erected which united church and congregation hall and parsonage. At Friedrichstadt the fashioning and the script of the tombstones are praised.

Mennonite homes often testified to the taste of the proprietor. It was a Mennonite who discovered the famous Hamburg architect Ernst George Sonnin; Berend Roosen got him to build his home, one of the finest in Hamburg. The town house of the von der Leyens was called "the castle" and became later on the town hall of Crefeld. These are not isolated instances; it would be worth while sometime to make a survey of Mennonite architecture.

Painting (or even sculpture) in early times was not known to Mennonites. Enoch Seemann of Danzig was banned by the elder of the church for painting portraits (second commandment), and 1697 published a pamphlet about his experience.[35] His artist son found a better sphere of activity in London. Several later artists in the Danzig and Königsberg congregations left home and church; one of these was Franz Theodor Zimmermann, who made many drawings for the famous *Natural History* (*Tierleben*) by Alfred Brehm, a publication very well known in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century, the Hamburg Mennonites were prominent in painting; the noted Balthasar Denner was the son of a "Dompelaar" preacher, and in the Hamburg Museum next to his pictures hang those of his brother-in-law Dominicus van der Smissen. Alfred Lichtwark, the director of the museum and well-known art critic, characterizes the two as the two last German portraitists of importance in Europe.[36] Van der Smissen painted among others the poet Hagedorn and the first wife of the poet Klopstock. Denner was invited to St. Petersburg by Empress Elizabeth of Russia to make a full-length portrait at an offer of 1,000 ducats to cover travel and maintenance costs, besides every comfort and liberty, but declined.[37]

In research work, especially in the sciences, Mennonites were at

[35] *Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten* (Karlsruhe), 1949, 91-94.
[36] Alfred Lichtwark, *Das Bildnis in Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1898).
[37] *Menn. Geschichtsbl.* III (1938), 25.

home, at least from the nineteenth century on. Looking to the East, at all events two men may be named in this respect: Wilhelm Mannhardt, already spoken of, who alas died very young in 1880, was working not only for his fellow believers, but also fundamentally for building up folklore. Hugo Conwentz, who died as an old man in 1922, is estimated at home and abroad as being the creator and thus the center of the movement for the preservation of natural beauty and the protection of natural memorials. Looking to the south, we see Peter Dettweiler (1837-1904), the father of the movement for *Heilstaetten* (sanatoria), who was the first to point out that tuberculosis can be cured not only in particular zones but in any climate, and whose one-hundredth birthday anniversary was celebrated by the German Tuberculosis Society.[38]

The Mennonites of Crefeld and of East Frisia seem to be especially connected with the cultural life around them. At Crefeld one had only to ramble through the streets with open eyes to see that. On Ostwall Street towered the column for Cornelius de Greiff, who in 1857 and 1863 respectively bequeathed the sum of 460,000 talers, an amount then unheard of in Germany, to his native town for charitable and humanitarian purposes. In the Friedrichstrasse, a few minutes farther on, was the public library, the reading room of which was decorated with the portrait of his niece and heiress, Marianne Rhodius née de Greiff, who in 1902 supplemented the gifts of her uncle by a legacy of 1,800,000 marks. Again a few minutes farther on, on the Karlsplatz, stands the Kaiser-Wilhelm Museum with a memorial for Karl Wilhelm Crous (see above) to whom more than any other this fine art center owes its existence. The extra-ordinary collection of masterpieces of the Italian Renaissance which it contains reminds one of its earlier proprietor, Adolf von Beckerath, whom Otto von Falke, later the director general of the National Museum in Berlin, extols in 1916, a year after his death, as a successful collector, well informed on the subject of his line of collection.[39] There are other artists and scholars among the von Beckeraths. The delightful booklet published in 1905 by Rudolf von der Leyen giving his personal reminiscences of Johannes Brahms as a man and friend, and the article by Walter Fellmann in the *Gemeinde-Kalender* (1939) on the relations between Brahms and the Crefeld Mennonites,[40] are excellent illustrations of the great in-

[37a] *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte Berlins* 39 (1922), 51.
[38] (Friedrich Dettweiler), *Peter Dettweiler, zum 100. Geburtstag* (Leipzig, 1937).
[39] See von Falke's *Vorwort* in the 1916 auction Catalog #1755 of Rudolf Lepke's auction house in Berlin.
[40] *Christlicher Gemeinde-Kalender* (1939), 82-85.

terest of these Mennonites in the encouragement of music in their native town.

In East Frisia a first glimpse should touch Bernhard Brons, Jr., of Emden (1831-1911, son of Isaac), who gave to his native town athletic grounds and a gymnasium and whose memory is kept alive by contests in which for many years East Frisian sports have centered. Then we may note the Privy Councilor of Commerce Jan ten Doornkaat-Koolman, at Norden (1815-89) who not only made the "Doornkaat," the most popular liquor of that area, presided over a large family, was deacon in his church, a senator, alderman, honorary freeman in his city, representative in the Imperial Diet, honorary member and master of the Frankfurt *Freies Deutsches Hochstift,* but also found time for research work. His *Dictionary of the East Frisian Language* in three volumes is found in the reading rooms of great libraries as an indispensable book of reference and was as late as World War II recommended by an expert.[41] "This self-taught man, perhaps not always critical, but interested in philology and qualified for it, was a prominent specialist of the East Frisian dialect, collected and worked up the material with an uncommon assiduity and had a fine sense for etymological and semasiological questions." As early as 1873 he wrote against the falsification of the so-called *Ura-Linda Chronicle,* which 60 years later in the early period of the Third Reich once more made much stir.

### *Religion*

As the little band of Mennonites was not without importance for general culture in Germany, so German religious and church life owes them sundry things as well.

Pietism and the Enlightenment especially threw bridges in this respect and encouraged the Mennonites in particular to further harmony among the denominations. When Pietism was in vogue in the 1760's, the ingenious son of the town builder, a third Gisbert van der Smissen at Altona, had the successor of Zinzendorf, Bishop Spangenberg, as a guest with him, and his grandsons on their cavalier's tour (see also above) visited the great evangelist and cofounder of Methodism, George Whitefield in England, the great spiritual shepherd and author of Reformed hymns, Gerhard Tersteegen in Western Germany, Herrnhut and Niesky, the places of the Moravian Brethren in Lusatia, and also later on cultivated similar relations.[42] A day memorable above others was August 25,

[41] *Menn. Geschichtsbl.* (1939), 22.
[42] *Christl. Gem.-Kal.* (1937), 103-116.

1751, when the well-known Pietist and poet Tersteegen, brought over the Rhine from Mülheim on the Ruhr in a special coach by the Mennonite congregation at Crefeld, was allowed to preach in their church to Reformed, Mennonites, and several other denominations. The church was overcrowded, and the audience, as he himself relates, was moved; nevertheless this pulpit remained the only one ever granted to him.[43]

We may be particularly impressed by the pains which the von der Leyens took to promote better understanding among Christians in their factories and in their social intercourse.

I quote the report on the visit of King Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia to Crefeld August 7, 1738:

"When His Royal Majesty arrived at the factory, he was not annoyed by having to ascend high staircases which one alone could hardly pass; and when he saw there about 100 people, old as well as young, he told General Buddenbrook: 'Oh, that is something truly fine, that is worth while.' He asked them from the large to the small, what they earned daily, and to what religion they belonged; and as Roman Catholics, Reformed, Lutherans, and Mennonites from all regions went there, he said: 'That is very good,' looked at all the machines and stayed for about half an hour."[44]

A supplement to this report is given by the renowned pedagogue Johann Heinrich Campe who stopped at Crefeld on July 23, 1789. Referring to the discord between the denominations he tells how—in line with the spirit of the Enlightenment—a von der Leyen, probably the Privy Councilor of Commerce Konrad von der Leyen, gave a new turn to the matter:

"Without revealing his intention, he invited people of all creeds and sects to a large social gathering and made provision that all would have to be happy and merry at heart. When they entered into the meeting hall, naturally one and another made a long face and did not understand how one could commit such an impropriety as to invite a Lutheran with members of the Reformed Church; a member of the Reformed Church with Catholics; and a Catholic with Mennonites and other faiths. But since they were in the situation they could not avoid entering into social conversation. Many a one now gradually made the discovery that one or another whom he had formerly considered a repulsive person because he was Lutheran, Catholic, Mennonite, etc., was, contrary to his expecta-

[43] *Gerhard Tersteegen, Geistliche und erbauliche Briefe* (Solingen, 1773-1775 and later).

[44] *Menn. Geschichtsbl.* III (1938), 28.

tions, apparently a quite approachable and good man. Little by little they became merry and also more open, friendly, and sincere. Finally, one saw here Reformed shaking hands fraternally with Catholics and Lutherans with Mennonites, and pledging friendship. The ice was broken."[45]

And these were no exceptions. From the seventeenth century on, we find in many places a readiness to help one another and sincere co-operation.

When in 1687 "My lords the Jesuits," or in 1688 the Lutherans (at Ohra) were building their churches, the Mennonite congregation of Danzig collected and contributed 200 and 300 guilders respectively. The expelled Salzburgers in 1732 even received 1,415 guilders from them.[46] At Friedrichstadt in earlier days house to house collections made on Sundays for the poor of the Lutherans brought in from the Mennonites larger sums than from the Remonstrants and the Lutherans combined, and in 1861 the Mennonites gave the Lutherans a gift for their church building. At Hamburg Berend Roosen, not narrow-minded, provided the gilded cross and flag for the tower of the church of St. Michael, the congregation having already in 1750-51 gathered nearly 6,000 Marks for the building. At Emden in 1779 the Mennonites shared in the costs of a peace festival of the Reformed, at Friesenheim near Ludwigshafen in 1805 in the cost of a Protestant church building. But also in 1838 Protestant citizens supported the Mennonite church building at Friedelsheim with important sums. In case of need people helped one another too. At Crefeld, for example, for some time the services of the Old Catholics were held in the Mennonite Church and those of the Mennonites, when their own church was rebuilt, in that of the Old Catholics. In Berlin for half a century the Mennonites were guests of the Moravian Brethren and now sometimes of the Protestant churches at Schmargendorf and Dahlem. At Munich and Stuttgart they have met or meet in Baptist quarters, at Kaiserslautern and Zweibrücken (Palatinate), Frankfurt a. M., Durlach and Sinsheim (Baden) in rooms of the Protestant Home Mission, at Regensburg (Bavaria) in the Lutheran Brotherhood Church, at Heilbronn in a Protestant chapel. And how many connections have resulted from church relief work, foreign mission alliances, and the *"Gemeinschaften."* How often, especially in the South, our elders and Protestant pastors perform their duties at funerals together. In 1810 the congregation at Crefeld,

[45] *Ibid.*
[46] *Menn. Geschichtsbl.* IV (1939), 21; H. G. Mannhardt, *op. cit.*

in 1858 that of Friedrichstadt, in 1870 (along with other innovations [see above]) that of Danzig expressly offered participation in the Lord's Supper to other Christians. And in Berlin even Christians and sisters took communion with Mennonites, who in their own church, in the time of the church struggle (*Kirchenkampf*) would not have been able to commune with one another. Jacob Gysbert van der Smissen (son of Gysbert III) in his devotional writing thought not only of Mennonites, but also of the debt Mennonites owe to Protestant theology as a whole.[47]

The difficult experiences of the churches during the Third Reich and the second world war resulted anew in co-operation, and the Mennonites in sharing in this development, only continued what they had started long ago, on the local level as well as on the national and in the ecumenical movement. At Crefeld in the 1946 emergency, Protestants and Mennonites, Roman and Old Catholics, Baptists and Free Evangelical congregations met in a common procession and common offerings to cry for mercy and to give relief. The Mennonite minister offered the prayer which afterwards was published also in Latin and English. At Göttingen the Universal Week of Prayer at the beginning of January, which has for 100 years united the Evangelical Alliance throughout the world, brought together *Gemeinschaft* and Baptists, with Lutherans and Mennonites, Reformed and Friends; a committee representing them all now also provides for evangelization, and every fall for a conference of faith, in 1948 Lutherans and Baptists, in 1949 Lutherans and Mennonites (as Lutherans predominate there) speaking. Since 1948 there has been an interdenominational committee of Christian churches in Germany under the leadership of Niemoeller, comprising the Protestant church, Methodists, Baptists, Evangelical Association, Old Catholics, Moravian Brethren, Mennonites, and also in somewhat looser connection the Free Evangelical Church and the Salvation Army. It formulates common resolutions in regard to important questions in public life as well as composing differences among the members. The Conference of the South German Mennonites was represented in 1927 at the Lausanne World Conference of Churches, the *Vereinigung der Deutschen Mennonitengemeinden* since 1930 in the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, and at the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam in 1948, which gave a unique opportunity to participate intimately in the entire need, struggle, and comfort of these different disciples of the one Master all over the world.

[46] *Menn. Geschichtsbl.* IV (1939), 22.

# CHAPTER III

# BERNESE ANABAPTISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

DELBERT GRATZ

## *Introduction*

Bern was politically strong during the seventeenth century and as such became a mighty stronghold of the Reformed church which it endeavored to protect by every possible means. Few methods were untried by them to win the Anabaptists* over to the state church. But often they realized the fruitlessness of their endeavors seeing rather that the Anabaptists gained in numbers. The years 1644 to 1670 were the most difficult in this century for the Anabaptists. They were especially numerous in the Emmental, with Langnau and Sumiswald their centers, although nearly every village had a few members.[1] Anabaptist sympathizers and "half-Anabaptists" (Halbtäufer) were most numerous during this century. Their large numbers caused the Bernese government as much worry as the Anabaptists themselves.[2]

## *Persecution in the Seventeenth Century*

Although the death sentence was never carried out in Bern after 1571 it remained a part of the statutes to warn the Anabaptists and was often used as a threat to the more obstinate. The sentencing of Anabaptist men to work as galley slaves was considered by some as being much more cruel than the death sentence. The most common treatment was imprisonment. Ministers would try to win them over to the state church sometimes by kind Biblical discussions and at other occasions by cruel admonitions

BIBLIOGRAPHY

* It is difficult to know when to use the designation "Mennonite" in place of "Anabaptist" for the Swiss Mennonites. The name "Mennonite" was never used in the public documents and only in the latter part of the nineteenth century did it come into use by the Swiss Mennonites themselves. On the other hand, the term "Anabaptist" was also seldom used in the documents and never by the Swiss Mennonites themselves. The terms "Täufer" and "Wiedertäufer" were most commonly used. On the other hand, the name "Mennonite" has come into such widespread general use during the nineteenth century for all the Mennonites outside of Holland, and exclusively so in North America, that it is the proper name to designate the modern descendants of the Swiss Anabaptists. Only in the French language was the term "Anabaptistes" generally used, and that up to the twentieth century, but even there "Mennonite" has replaced it altogether.

1 (Samuel Geiser, ed.) *Taufgesinnten-Gemeinden* (Karlsruhe, 1931), 389-393.

2 John Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe* (Scottdale, 1942), 392-395. Treats the problem as it appeared in various areas where Anabaptists were located. Only a few references are made to the situation in the state of Bern.

and condemnations for their stubbornness. If it was not possible to convert them to the state church they were usually expelled from Bernese territory. They were led to the border and forced to take an oath never to return. Those who did return, of whom it seems there was quite a number, were punished for breaking their oath. The ordinary punishment for this crime was to be put in the pillory plus a prison term. Some were sent to the Venetian galleys as slaves but most of them were again banished with further threats.

The mandate of 1585, which was revised and reprinted in 1597, was still in effect when the century opened. This strict mandate against the Anabaptists was to be read once each year from the pulpit of each state church. Among other things it stressed that the ministers and other church officials should make every effort to convert the Anabaptists by Biblical argument. When they were converted, which seldom was the case, they were to confess their former errors before the entire congregation.[3]

In the notes of the Langnau Reformed minister, J. R. Ph. Forrer, made in 1621, there are numerous mentions of his attempts to convert Anabaptists within his parish without success. He admonished Simon Bichsel telling him that he should attend church and hear the sermons. But Bichsel answered that all warning, teaching, and threats would avail nothing as it is plainly written in the Bible, "Go out from them."[4] The brothers Durs and Benedicht Baumgartner of Dürsrütti gave equally frank answers to the minister when asked about their religion. Ulli Baumgartner was put on the rack after having refused to tell of his faith to the Bernese officials.[5]

In 1644 larger discussions with the Anabaptists took place. In the districts of Zofingen, Aarau, and Lenzburg some forty were found. These Anabaptists asked for a hearing before the government. It was agreed to give them permission for safe-conduct on their journey. Hans Tester and Hans Glur were questioned by Marx Rüttimeier. They declared that they could not follow those who were learned as they proceed in all ungodliness. They also complained that the ungodly permit all to participate in the Lord's Supper without using the ban. In the same manner Hans Stenz and Martin Burger had a hearing on March 2, 1646. They were held

[3] *Nuw Mandadt unnd Ordnung von Schultheissen Klein unnd grossen Rhat der Statt Bernn/ der Widertöufferen wegen* (1597). A copy of the original 1597 printing of this mandate is in the possession of the author; another copy is in the Goshen College Library.

[4] *Einfaltiger und nothwendiger und nutzlicher Bericht von dem Eidtochvur. . . .* Stadtbibliothek Bern. *Mss. Hist. Helv.* VII, 144, 12.

[5] Geiser, *op. cit.*, 390.

prisoner and heard again on December 30, 1647. As this also brought no turning of them to the Protestant religion they were again heard separately on January 6, 1648. After a long hearing and a clear statement of their convictions, they were finally sentenced to a term at the Zürich penitentiary. From here they escaped but Stenz was later captured and exiled.[6]

By 1640 it appears that in the Emmental there were a considerable number of Anabaptists. Each village had a group. On the seventeenth of January, 1640, orders went out from the government at Bern to Aarwangen, Zofingen, Aarburg, Lenzburg, Thun, Signau, Brandis, and Trachselwald that on January 25 a meeting to review the Anabaptist situation was to be held. The old mandates were again put into effect and strict orders were given to the local authorities to "stop looking through their fingers," and "with God's help to completely outroot this sect." On April 11, 1644, orders went out from Bern to the district officials to imprison the obstinate Anabaptist ministers Uli Zougg, Uli Neuhaus, and Christen Stauffer. In December of the same year a mandate urged that through argument the Anabaptists should be won but if this was impossible they should be exiled and forced to take the oath *(Urfehde)* never to return. In February, 1649, the old minister Joseph Widmer was imprisoned at the *Insel* in Bern but because of his old age he was released upon the promise that he would not preach and would attend the state church services. After the Bernese Peasant War in 1653 there was a significant gain in the numbers of Anabaptists in the Emmental, but shortly thereafter another wave of persecution started. The order went out to capture the ministers of the Anabaptists and imprison them in the newly erected penitentiary and orphanage (*Zucht und Waisenhaus*) at Bern. There they were to be won over to the state church through prayer and the exposition of God's Word. The first minister to be brought in was Anthoni Himmelberg from Wattenwil. He was forced to spend twenty-eight months in this prison (June 24, 1658, to October 25, 1660) which was the remainder of his natural life. On December 20, 1658, a note was sent out to the district officials to make a list of the Anabaptists and to capture their leading ministers and ringleaders and have them brought to the "orphanage" at Bern. In January, 1659, Anabaptist hunters broke into a meeting at Dürsrütti and took away the minister, Ulli Baumgartner, and three other leading members while the rest of the congregation

[6] Geiser, *op. cit.*, 391-393. Müller, *op. cit.*, 106-115.

could only stand by and weep. The captives were taken to Trachselwald and then to Bern where attempts were made to convert them to the state church religion without avail. So banishment was the punishment. One of these four wrote an account of the story in the form of a poem which was published in 1696 in the Anabaptist hymnbook entitled *Geistliches Liederbüchlein.*[7]

The Bernese Council formed the Commission for Anabaptist Affairs (*Committierten zum Täufergeschäft*) on January 4, 1659. This was a specially appointed committee of church officials and government authorities who were to deal with all matters concerning Anabaptists.[8]

Intercession on the part of the Dutch Mennonites on behalf of the Bernese Anabaptists started during 1659. A Mennonite merchant in Amsterdam named Hans Vlamingh wrote a long letter on October 24, 1659, to Christoph Lüthard, Professor of Theology in Bern, and also a member of the Anabaptist Commission, in which he pointed out the unreasonableness of the state church persecution of the Anabaptists and stressed their pious qualities.[9] A few weeks before (October 9), Heidanus, Professor of Theology at Leiden, had written to the same Christoph Lüthard. The following April 16 Hans Flamingk wrote a letter to another member of the Anabaptist Commission, Wilhelm von Diessbach. The contents are much the same as his letter to Lüthard. A formal protest from the Dutch government was made in February, 1660, on behalf of the Anabaptists in Zürich and Bern, to their respective governments. The answer from these governments to the various Dutch who tried to intervene was to the effect that it was the duty of the government to retain the Reformed religion in its pure form. It was claimed that the Anabaptists had made inroads into the state religion so that they were forced to devise means of uprooting it. They also claimed that they were very mild with them, not putting them into a strict prison but rather imprisoning them in an orphanage and were trying to win them by teaching and discussing the Bible with them. If they did not yield they were led out of the land, they said.[10]

On September 10, 1660, twelve of those being held at the "orphanage" in Bern were put on board a boat and sent to Brugg where they were led over the border by the police and forced to promise not to return. They were told to join their brethren in

[7] *Ibid.*, 393-397. *Geistliches Liederbüchlein,* 1696.
[8] *Ibid.*, 398.
[9] Ernst Müller, *Geschichte der bernischen Täufer* (Frauenfeld, 1895).
[10] Müller, *op. cit.*, 186.

Holland. On January 20, 1663, the government of Bern reported that nearly all of those banished had returned to their homes and that they should be brought back to the "orphanage" in Bern.[11]

On January 6, 1668, another debate was called by the Bernese government to "discuss and debate in a friendly manner" the main points of the errors of the Anabaptists. But the Anabaptists were a bit weary of debates at which there was no fair decision; so none appeared.[12]

In 1670 a group of Reformed ministers were asked to give their judgment on the printed mandates concerning Anabaptists that were in effect. The opinion of five of the ministers on this commission was that the Anabaptist problem was grossly mishandled and that past events were a stain on the Reformed religion. This group said that religion is not something that can be forced on a person at the point of a sword, rather it must be taught. They also stated that when Christ sent out His apostles to preach He did not say anything about the Gospel being spread by governments, nor whipping, nor burning with irons if the hearers would not accept His Gospel. The other group in this commission upheld the orders and mandates and suggested that the Anabaptists should be debated with again and if that availed nothing they should be banished; life imprisonment availed nothing.[13]

The mandate that followed on September 8, 1670, provided that those who would not swear the oath of allegiance to the Bernese government should leave within two weeks. Those who had been dealt with and warned a number of times before were to be punished by death. Other stubborn ones should be publicly whipped and led over the border; if they returned they would be given the same treatment again and then marked with a branding iron. The possessions of those who were banished would be sold and the proceeds turned over to the church to administer . A special register (*Täufer-Urbar*) was established to keep an exact record of the money accumulated in this manner. When children of Anabaptist parents joined the church they would inherit their portion of the estate that had been sold. A tenth of the property was turned over to the local government as was the case of all who legally left Bern at this time. The money from the Anabaptist possessions was used for various purposes. Some used it to repair the local church

[11] *Ibid.*, 187.

[12] *Mandatenbuch,* VIII, 417.

[13] *Beide Meinungen des Convents . . . und das beruhmte Täuffer-Memorial. . . .* Stadtbibliothek Bern. *Mss. Hist. Helv.* III, 272.

building, some to help the poor. A large amount of the money remained until the founding of the modern political townships in 1824. At that time it was turned over to the school and poor fund. This same mandate provided for heavy fines for anyone who would permit an Anabaptist to stay in his home or hold meetings on his property.[14]

The persecution was carried on in earnest during 1670 and 1671. Many were captured and sent to Bern where most of them had a difficult time at the "orphanage" or the Insel hospital where they were imprisoned. They were forced to work here, sometimes for several years.

After the regular church service on a specified Sunday in 1670 the state church ministers were to have all men above the age of fifteen swear the oath of allegiance and keep a careful record of those who did. In this manner they endeavored to seek out the Anabaptists.

When expelled, parents could decide whether they wanted to take their children with them or leave them in the state of Bern. If they took them along they lost all rights to Bernese citizenship just as did their parents. Expectant mothers were permitted to remain in the land until after the birth of the child. The old and invalids were to be sent to the "orphanage" in Bern to spend their last days.

The height of the persecution came when on March 7, 1671, the government sent out a note to the district officials that the able-bodied Anabaptist men should be sent to Italy to work as oarsmen on the Venetian galleys. This punishment was feared nearly as much as the death sentence because of the terrible life of a virtual slave that this entailed. This was the same punishment that had been used by the Catholics in France against the Huguenots, when the Bernese government bought the freedom of some of the persecuted Huguenots. Now they used the same type of persecution themselves. At first twelve Anabaptists were given this sentence for two years, two of whom renounced their faith and were set free. Four others promised to leave the land. The remaining six were sent to Venice. On March 16, 1671, they were taken in chains to Thun where they were sent by boat to Brienz. The rest of the trip was made by land to Bergamo where they were turned over to the Venetian officials. The names of those who were sent at this time have never been established definitely but it appears that two of

[14] Staatsarhchiv Bern. *Cf. Mandatbuch* VIII and IX. Also Geiser, *op. cit.*, 406-408.

them were the brothers Hans and Melchior Lötscher from Latterbach.[15] In 1673 they were again in Bern and while imprisoned Hans Lötscher copied from the prison records (*Turmbücher*) the list of those Anabaptists executed at Bern.[16]

The persecution seemed to have no letup, and conditions became even more difficult. About 700 persons left the state of Bern for the Palatinate,[17] arriving there in extremely poor condition. Their brethren from Holland immediately sent aid and made visits among them. In letters to Holland the exiles vividly described their poor conditions in the new country. As early as 1653 it is known that Swiss Anabaptists had settled in the Palatinate, and these earlier settlers gave aid to the newcomers as best they could by helping them to find places to live. Others settled in Alsace where churches were also formed. Although 1671 was the chief year that Anabaptists left Bern others continued to leave for Alsace and the Palatinate in the following years.[18]

The number of Anabaptists left in the state of Bern was considerably diminished by this emigration, but they were far from being exterminated as was the case in Zurich at that time. Little is recorded of the Bernese Anabaptists during the following twenty years, which indicates that the few that were left were well hidden and of little significance. In 1691 another wave of persecution started when it was decreed that all those who did not swear allegiance nor carry arms should no longer be tolerated. On February 15, 1693, the ministers' council was called on for suggestions as to how the ever rapidly growing Anabaptists could be regulated. Their suggestions were given in the form of the well-known *Täufer-Memorial.*[19] It clearly points out that the blame for the continual growth of the Anabaptists lay in the general demoralization of the land and not in the Anabaptists themselves.

On July 10, 1693, the old mandate of August 9, 1659, was reissued. Added to this was an order to take as hostages two of the leading citizens of each village that refused to co-operate to the fullest in searching out and sending to Bern all Anabaptists. In

[15] Fluri, Ad., *Mss. Täufer.* No. 2, 5. Stadtbibliothek, Bern. *Mss. Hist. Helv.* XXX, 50.

[16] The story of the Bernese Anabaptists' experience as galley slaves is most ably discussed in Müller, *op. cit.*, Chapter XIII (215-232). The Lötscher list was published in the Ephrata edition of the *Martyrs' Mirror* (1748) p. 938 where it was added at the last moment by being printed in the margin.

[17] Geiser, *op. cit.*, 411. Other sources mention the number 700 as having left from Bern and Zurich.

[18] Christian Neff, "Bern," in *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* I (Weierhof, 1913), 179, 180.

[19] Stadtbibliothek, Bern. *Mss. Hist. Helv.* III, 272, 4. A copy appears in Müller, *op. cit.*, 145-156.

the order of February, 1695, concerning the Anabaptists the Bernese government earnestly sought to root out all Anabaptists. One hundred Reichstaler ($2,250) was to be paid for each minister that was brought in; fifty pounds ($280) was to be the fine of anyone who rented anything to a person who did not produce a state church membership certificate. In this manner it was to be made impossible for any Anabaptist to stay in Bernese territory without extreme difficulty.[20] As women were not required to swear the oath of allegiance, the church officials were to go to every house each year and find out whether they had attended church regularly, had partaken in the holy sacraments, and had had their children baptized. It was further stated in this order that no Anabaptists should be buried in the cemeteries of the state church. Beyond Sumiswald in the Kurzenei near Wasen is a secluded spot still known as the *Täuferloch* which was used during times of persecution as a place of meeting and burial by the Anabaptists.[21]

So ended a century of great growth for the Anabaptists of Bern. But this increase was not reflected in the number of them still in Bernese territory at the end of the century, for it was also the century of their greatest emigration.

## *Emigration from Bern*

### *Alsace*

Strasbourg became a place of refuge for the Anabaptists soon after the beginning of the Reformation. Although not given complete liberty there they were able to exist while persecution raged in other lands. In Ensisheim south of Strasbourg they fared less well. Six hundred Anabaptists were executed here during the first years of the Reformation. By the time the first waves of migration from the state of Bern arrived during the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) there were still remnants of the earlier groups.

A letter dated March 12, 1643, written by a Catholic minister at Sainte Marie-aux-Mines (Markirch) to a fellow priest in Metz gives the first indication of Bernese Anabaptists in Alsace. He writes that for some time they have been entering the area and holding meetings in a wood between Sainte Marie-aux-Mines and Selestat. He says they met here in a barn. For special occasions ministers from Switzerland would come. In another document the Anabaptists are mentioned as settling in the middle section of the

[20] Geiser, *op. cit.*, 415, 416.
[21] Geiser, *op. cit.*, 416, 417.

Vosges mountains in the valley of Sainte Marie-aux-Mines where they were farmers, living especially from cattle raising.[22] During the extremely difficult times from 1671 until 1711 several hundred Anabaptists left Bern to find a new home in Alsace. A Bernese patrician, Beat Fischer, aided them in founding a settlement in 1671 at Reichsweyer near Rappersweyer.[22a]

The names of some of the families that migrated from the state of Bern to Alsace during this period are Lichti, Ummel, Reusser, Bigler, Eicher, Stauffer, Wittmer, Lüthi, Lehmann, Kropf, Bachmann, Müller, Eymann, Roth, Schneider, Wenger, Blaser, Graber, Kauffmann, Haueter, Joder, Neuhaus(er), Luginbühl (Lugbull), Richard, Stoll, Sommer, and Mosimann.[23]

### *Palatinate*

As early as 1527 we read of the work of Hans Denck at Worms and Landau where he founded Anabaptist fellowships.[24] Anabaptist teaching took root especially in the area near Bruchsal and in the Alzey district. As in the other lands of the south Germanic tongue where Anabaptists were located in the sixteenth century, here in the Palatinate they suffered persecution in the form of mandates, executions, and banishment. Some migrated to Moravia where they were gladly taken in by the Hutterite Anabaptists. By the time the emigration from Switzerland started (about 1650) there were few or none of the native Anabaptist stock left in the Palatinate to greet them.

During the Thirty Years War the Palatinate was laid waste and nearly depopulated. Persons who had been banished before were now welcomed back. Religious persecutees from France and Switzerland were invited to rebuild the devastated land. As persecution was taking place in Switzerland at that time a number of families left for the Palatinate.[25] They settled as early as 1652 in the Kraichgau (Northern Baden today) especially in the districts of Sinsheim a.d. Elsenz, Hilsbach, and Reihen.[26]

At first the Anabaptists were merely tolerated on the east side of the Rhine. Their economic contribution was appreciated but

[22] *Archives Departmentales du Haut Rhin*, E2792, E2024.

[22a] Staatsarchiv Bern. *R. M.* August 24, September 22, and October 23, 1671.

[23] Ch. Mathiot, *Recherches Historiques sur les Anabaptistes de l' Ancienne Principaute de Montbeliard. d' Alsace et des Regions voisines.* (Belfort, 1922), 150-158.

[24] Christian Hege, *Die Täufer in der Kurpfalz* (Frankfurt a. M., 1908), 13ff.

[25] The Palatinate included a portion of present-day north Baden located on the east side of the Rhine. This included the cities of Heidelberg, Mannheim, and Sinsheim a.d Elsenz.

[26] Christian Hege, "Kraichgau," *Mennonitisches Lexikon* II (Weierhof, 1925).

their religion was always a source of fear for the state church government. Finally they were permitted to stay by paying a tax of six gulden ($90) per person each year. They were permitted to hold meetings only if the number of those taking part was twenty or less.[27]

As early as 1650 Swiss Anabaptists arrived at Kriegsheim on the west side of the Rhine.[28] Others arrived from Switzerland in the years following but no sizable migration took place until 1671 when an especially severe persecution took place in both Zürich and Bern. It has been estimated that approximately 700 persons arrived in the Palatinate during this year from the state of Bern.[29] Several letters have been preserved telling of the desperate conditions of these immigrant Anabaptists during this time. Jacob Everling, a minister at Obersülzen near Dirmstein, wrote letters to the Mennonites in Holland describing the conditions in which they came. By November 2, 1671, he reported, 200 had entered the Palatinate. Among them were cripples, old persons up to 90 years of age, and families with as many as twelve children. Most came without money or possessions and carried all they owned on their backs, and their small children in their arms. By January, 1672, Everling reported, there were some 643 in the Palatinate. When asked why they had not left Switzerland earlier they gave the following reasons: first, they saw that despite all persecutions their numbers were continually increasing, and their church "bloomed as a rose among thorns"; second, it was not easy to immigrate to a foreign country and leave behind many close relatives who were not members of their faith.[30]

As the native Mennonites in the Palatinate had little means of their own they could not assist them to a great extent. Letters were written to the brethren in Holland requesting aid. Already in 1660 the Dutch Mennonites had formed an organization to aid their Swiss brethren, the Committee for Foreign Needs. Eleven thousand gulden ($150,000) were given by the Dutch Mennonites for their aid.[31] Tielmann Jansz van Braght, a Dutch Mennonite minister and author, visited the Mennonites here and saw the conditions just as had been described by Everling.

In the years following, the life of the Swiss Mennonites in the Palatinate was not easy. They were never considered on equal

[27] Christian Hege, "Kurpfalz," *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, II, 588-597 *passim*.
[28] Walter Fellman, "Kriegsheim," *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, II, 572.
[29] See note 17.
[30] Müller, *op. cit.*, 194-197.
[31] Christian Hege, "Kurpfalz," *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, II, 597, 598.

legal standing with the other persons there. Continually there was some law of restriction to cause them some anxiety. Some moved on to Holland in 1710 where they formed settlements at Groningen, Sappenmeer, and Kampen. For several generations there they retained their language and distinctive church regulations but by the beginning of the nineteenth century they joined the Dutch Mennonites so that today only a few names can be recognized as being of Swiss origin such as Boer (Baur), Gerber, Meihuizen, and Latscha (Lörtscher). Even as early as 1671 some Mennonites from the Palatinate of Swiss origin had settled at Sappenmeer and Groningen, so that these who arrived in the eighteenth century were referred to as "new Swiss." In 1720 they formed two separate church organizations, those arriving later being more conservative than the earlier settlers. The division lasted until about 1780. In 1824 the entire Swiss group joined with the Dutch Mennonites.[32]

The first emigrants from the Palatinate to leave for America left from Kriegsheim in 1685. Two brothers, Peter and Isaac Schuhmacher,[33] joined the Germantown, Pennsylvania, Mennonite-Quaker settlement that had been founded by persons from Krefeld two years earlier.[34] However, the Mennonite stream of emigration did not begin until 1707, when a number of families arrived at Germantown. Later this settlement spread north into the Skippack region. The largest migration of Swiss Mennonites to America took place between 1717 and 1732 when approximately 3,000 emigrated from the Palatinate to Pennsylvania to form the bulwark of the major group of Mennonite churches in America today, namely, the (Old) Mennonite Church and the (Old Order) Amish Mennonite Church, both of which have spread across the United States and Canada.[35] The difficult times in the Palatinate together with the cordial invitation of the Penns to religious persecutees to settle in their colony, as well as favorable letters from their brethren who had left before, helped many to decide to migrate to Pennsylvania.

[32] Müller, *op. cit.*, 279ff.

[33] Possibly descendants of the earlier Schuhmacher family of Safenwil, Aargau. See J. Heiz, *Täufer im Aargau (Taschenbuch des historischen Gesellschaft des Kantons* Aargau, 1902) (Aarau, 1902), 158.

[34] Smith, C. Henry, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century* (Norristown, Pa.), 75-94. It is certain, however, that these and all other emigrants from Kriegsheim and the Palatinate to Pennsylvania before 1707 were Quakers. Although they had once been Mennonites, they were members of the Kriegsheim Quaker congregation which emigrated en masse and all joined the Quaker congregation at Germantown. The first real Mennonites to emigrate from the Palatinate to Pennsylvania were members of the Kolb family who arrived in Germantown in 1707.

[35] Smith, *op. cit.*, 96.

The Palatinate emigration took on a more definite form when in Rotterdam a group of 300 assembled to make the trip to America. Leading this movement were Jacob Burkhalter and Benedict Brechbühl. The Dutch Mennonites gave considerable aid to their brethren and even aided a few in paying their passage. For ten years only a scattered few left for America but in 1727 another wave of emigration started that continued unabated for five years. Regardless of discouragement and warnings from the Dutch Mennonites and admonishings from the Palatinate elders the "America fever" spread through the Palatinate churches, nearly depleting them by 1732 when the stream of emigration came practically to a close. During these five years alone the Dutch Mennonites recorded some 3,000 Palatinate brethren having passed through Holland en route to Pennsylvania. C. Henry Smith estimated the Mennonites in America descended from these Swiss settlers at 150,000 in 1935.[36]

The Palatinate Mennonites also had representatives in the migration to Jülich and Cleve during the latter part of the seventeenth century, and in the decade of the 1780's a sizable number left for Galicia where they settled in the area of Lemberg.[37] The settlements in Jülich and Cleve died out in the nineteenth century, but the one in Galicia persisted until 1945 when it was expelled by the Russian occupation; after a period of existence in West Germany as refugees the remnant of this group migrated to Uruguay in 1949.

Those who remained in the Palatinate had their own difficulties, both external and internal, although they enjoyed a period of prosperity in the nineteenth century. The Amish schism affected them in 1693-1700. Although the Amish group never was large, it persisted until the 1930's when the last Amish congregation joined the Palatinate Mennonite conference. The government restricted their worship and freedom well into the nineteenth century. Today there are approximately 1500 baptized members of the Mennonite Church in the Palatinate.

### *Bishopric of Basel*[38]

The present stronghold of the Anabaptists in Switzerland is the Bernese Jura, which, until the French Revolution, was called the

[36] Christian Neff, "Amerika," *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* I, 51, 52. Christian Hege, "Kurpfalz," *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* II, 599.

[37] Bachmann, Peter, *Mennoniten in Kleinpolen,* 177ff.

[38] Now usually referred to as *Fürstbistum Basel.* The ruler was not only Bishop of a diocese but prince of a secular domain as well. The terms *Fürstbischof* and

Principality and Bishopric of Basel. Only a portion of it was allied to the Bernese state by defensive and offensive alliances signed in 1486. This territory originated in the year 630 as an ecclesiastical legacy. In 1528, when the Reformation came and won part of his people, the Bishop changed his place of residence from Basel to Porrentruy (Pruntrut), although the greater share of his principality remained Catholic. In exception to the general rule in Catholic states the Bishopric of Basel early gave semi-toleration to the Anabaptists fleeing persecution in the state of Bern.

Tradition has it that during Reformation times Bernese Anabaptists sought protection in the Bucheggberg in Solothurn territory but when their safety here became uncertain they moved on into the Bishopric of Basel, coming first to Péry, north of Biel, and settling in the mountain meadows of the Montoz. From there they moved to the mountains of Graitery and Münster. From Péry others moved westward forming for some time the churches of Wannen and Tscharner. Between 1540 and 1570 the first families arrived.[39] The Gerber family came from Stadel near Langnau; the Nussbaum family from Ichertswil in the Bucheggberg district of Solothurn, and a Tanner family probably from Lützelflüh. These were the first in this migration.[40]

But it appears that even earlier than this Anabaptists existed in the Bishopric of Basel. The first evidence of an Anabaptist being in this area is given by the list of those who attended the debate in Bern in March, 1538, on which appears Hans Heinrich Schneider from Münstertal.[41] On August 17, 1538, the Bernese government wrote to the Prince Bishop of Basel that he should not tolerate the Anabaptists in his domain; rather, he should expel those who were in the Münstertal. It appears that these earlier Anabaptists were not Bernese in origin but rather Alsatian. The records are silent from this time until June, 1596, when the Prince Bishop Jakob Christoph wrote to the prior and church at Münster that the Anabaptists in Seehof have increased rather than decreased as the case should have been. He decreed that no more should be allowed to settle there without the Bishop's previous knowledge of it.[42] The

*Fürstbistum* were never used until after the French Revolution when the Bishopric and Principality arrangement no longer existed. The title that was earlier used was *Bischof von Basel, Fürst des heiligen Römischen Reiches.* The area that he ruled was called *Stift, Hochstift, Bistum* or *Fürstentum.* See A. Membrez, "Das Hungerjahr 1771 in Fürstentum Basel," *Der Rauracher* XII, No. 3/4 (Aesch, Basel-Land, 1940), 37.

[39] Müller, *op. cit.;* 234, 235.

[40] *Ibid.,* 235.

[41] *U. P.* 80.

[42] Staatsarchiv Bern. Ehemaliges Archiv des Fürstbistum Basel. 245. Mappe 29

records are silent for another quarter of a century until in 1622 when Bishop Wilhelm gave authority to the prefect of Delémont (Delsberg) to imprison Heini Stähli who was living at Seehof.[43]

Various conditions forbade the Anabaptists to find refuge in the Jura during the especially difficult persecution times of the 1670's and 1690's. On March 10, 1693, the Prince decreed that no Anabaptists may settle in his land.[44] The larger migrations to the Jura which nearly depleted the Emmental churches took place in the fore part of the eighteenth century. This will be discussed in the following chapter.

### *Amman—Reist Controversy*[45]

Although persecution made life for the Anabaptists of Bern nearly impossible during the last half of the seventeenth century they nevertheless found occasion to disagree among themselves. This division in the Bernese Anabaptist ranks became the greatest in all the history of Swiss Anabaptism, continuing to the present day in America, although in Europe it has been healed everywhere so that no Amish are left in Europe. The cause and course of the division was as follows.

An Anabaptist elder named Jakob Amman from Erlenbach near Thun[45a] made a tour of the various Anabaptist congregations in Bern and Alsace in the year 1693, accompanied by several other Anabaptist ministers. It was his sincere belief that the congregations were becoming lax in the practice of true Christian ordinances; so he sought to reinstate a stricter church discipline, stressing a firmer policy on the principle of avoidance of persons no longer in fellowship with the church. This was probably imported from the practice and teaching of the Dutch Mennonites, since previously in the Bernese Anabaptist congregations avoidance had always been interpreted as nonparticipation of the banned member in Holy Communion. In all sincerity he endeavored to reform the Anabaptist congregations over an older and stricter pattern.

Amman first came to the bishop Niklaus Moser in Friedersmatt near Bowil and then to Peter Giger in Reutenen near Zäziwil,

June 11, 1596. (This portion of the Staatsarchiv is hereafter referred to only by the letter B followed by the section number.)

[43] B 245. Mappe 29. May 20, 1622.

[44] Geiser, *op. cit.*, 446.

[45] The most thorough study to date on this subject was made by Milton Gascho, "The Amish Division of 1693-1697 in Switzerland and Alsace," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XI (October, 1937), 235-266.

[45a] See Delbert Gratz, "The Home of Jacob Amman," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XXV (April, 1951), 137-9.

both in the Emmental. Neither of these showed interest in introducing the strict avoidance into their congregations. Some time later a number of elders and ministers met at the home of Niklaus Moser to discuss and decide what to do. Hans Reist (called Hüsli Hans), an elder from Obertal near Zäziwil, was also invited but did not attend. Amman accused Reist of being a plotter against this doctrine and insisted that he should be excommunicated. In spite of urgent pleadings he excommunicated all those who would not join with him. The opposing party came to be known as the Reist or Emmental party.[46] The teachings of Amman thus were rejected in the Emmental but found fertile soil in the Bernese Oberland where in 1711 his followers were found in the Simmental, Frutigen, and Hilterfingen and in the vicinity of Thun.[47]

Several years after the division feetwashing was introduced into the services of the Amish group as a part of the Lord's Supper. Greater strictness in the plainness of costume also followed.

The Amish division spread at once to the churches in Alsace and the Palatinate where it found better soil. On March 3, 1694, seven ministers from the Palatinate and nine from Switzerland met at the mill at Ahnen in Alsace for the purpose of coming to an agreement. It was to no avail as was also the meeting held at Ste. Marie-aux-Mines on November 8, 1697.

Amman wrote a letter to the Swiss brethren on February 7, 1700, admitting that he was in the wrong and asking for forgiveness. But the Reist party had become too embittered toward the Amish methods to forgive all that had taken place upon mere request, requiring cancellation of the ban which was not forthcoming.[48] As a consequence the schism became permanent.

Both groups figured in the migrations that followed in the eighteenth century. The first Amish appeared in America in the second or third decade of the eighteenth century settling in eastern Pennsylvania. Many descendants of these immigrants joined the Mennonite Church in the first part of the twentieth century, although approximately one half of them still practice the doctrine of avoidance much as Jakob Amman preached it over 250 years ago. These latter are usually known as Old Amish or Old Order Amish and comprise a membership of some 15,000 (1951) baptized members having congregations located principally in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas. The nineteenth-

[46] Gascho, *op. cit.*
[47] Müller, *op. cit.*, 316.
[48] *Ibid.*, 316, 317.

century Amish emigrants from Alsace, Hesse, and other parts of Germany, who settled largely in the middle western states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, and in Ontario, were more progressive and have almost all joined the Mennonite Church, very few continuing with the Old Order Amish group.

The churches in Alsace became Amish and remained so. Within the past half century, however, they have modified their views so that today there is almost no distinction between them and the Mennonite groups in Switzerland and South Germany. In the Palatinate the last Amish church joined with the Mennonite conference in 1935. After 1750 only three small Amish congregations existed in Switzerland. One was located at Binnigen near Basel, most of whose members, however, lived just across the border in Alsace. The meetinghouse, however, has always been in Basel. The two other Amish churches in Switzerland were in the Jura, namely, Chaux d' Abel, and Val de Ruz in the Principality of Neuchâtel. The stronghold of the Amish party in Bern had been in the Oberland. The deportation of 1710 and subsequent migrations to the Bishopric of Basel extinguished these congregations. During the nineteenth century there was a continual process of ever closer co-operation between the Reist and Amish groups in the Jura until by the end of the century only slight remains of the Amish group existed which had never prospered well on Bernese soil.

### *Location of Anabaptists in Bern*

As the seventeenth century progressed the center of Bernese Anabaptism became ever more the Emmental. Remnants were still left in the various other countries in Bern, especially in the lower Aargau in the northeastern part of the country. The greatest expansion in numbers took place in the Oberland and Thun areas.

The lower Aargau was under Bernese rule until the French Revolution. During the sixteenth century most of the Bernese Anabaptists migrating to Moravia came from this section. During the early seventeenth century congregations existed in some number in the Aargau, but the severe persecutions that raged in Bernese territory during the latter half of the century all but annihilated these congregations. Most families found new homes in Alsace and the Palatinate at this time. The few remaining left during the fore part of the eighteenth century. Some of the family names of modern Mennonites of Aargau origin in Alsace, the Palatinate, and America are Zimmerli, Suter, Bachmann, Schuhmacher, Haury, Herdi, Thut, Engel, Berner, Frey, Peter, Meyer, Beck, Aerni, Gross,

Amsler, Hunziker, Bär, Hegi, Gut, Rot, Fehlmann, Bolliger, Müller, Burger, Küenzli, Däster, Glur, Jäggi, Schärer, von Huben, Dätwyler, Lütwyler, Gautschi.[49]

The exact circumstances concerning the expansion of the Anabaptists in the Thun and Oberland regions of Bern during the seventeenth century are not clearly known. Very likely these congregations were a growth of the small scattered groups that were in existence there since Reformation times. Then too it is natural to infer that contacts made at the markets by the Emmental Anabaptists also helped spread the movement. The peak in numbers came just prior to the wave of persecution which swept through the Bernese state during the decade of 1670. Following this most of them migrated with the Emmental group to Alsace and the Palatinate. Those that remained joined the Amish movement in the last decade of the century. Practically all left with the deportation of 1710 when they went to the Palatinate, Holland, and later many to America.

The lonely valleys of the Emmental became more and more the stronghold of Bernese Anabaptism during the seventeenth century. Despite persecution and migration the numbers grew until the extremely severe times of the 1670's. In almost every village there were a few Anabaptists. In the dark valleys there were more. Names of Emmental Anabaptist families in the seventeenth ecntury include the following: Baumgartner of Dürsrütti near Langnau, Probst, Friedrich, Bichsel, Ruch, Studer, Otzenberger, Jost, Dällenbach, Räber, Krayenbühl, Gerber at Gohl, Röthlisberger at Multen, Burckhalter at Mättenberg, Fischer from Signau, Bürki at Gibel, Wahli, Steiner in the Ey near Langnau, Gerber in Wannenthal, Gerber on the Wisenholen, Brachers in Frittenbach, Wisslers in Eyschachen, Grimm at Gibel, Stauffer from Eggiwil, Schwartz in Moss, Schänck in Mülibach, Blaser at Walistolen, Tanner at Walistolen, Hofmann from Affoltern, Aeschlimann at Rigenen, Bieri at Katzbach, Gerber at Wingei, Kohler from Hasli, Schüppbach from Hasli, Jau in Heimiswilgraben, Reist at Hinterbrittern, Reist at Oberthal, Sterchi, Schenk, Räss at Schangnau, Lüthi in Längenbachmühle near Lauperswil, Wiedmer from Mützlenberg, Wälti at Schwanden by Rüderswil, Baugg from Signau, Mumprecht from Rüegsau, Frider from Biglen, Christen from Langnau, Lichti, Ummel, Neuenschwander, Wütrich.[50]

[49] Heiz, *op. cit., passim.*

[50] Based on list of emigrants of 1711. See Müller, *op. cit.,* 307-309.

In the Thun area the following family names were found among the Anabaptists in the latter part of the seventeenth century and early eighteenth: Schnyder from Eriz, Neuhaus in Goldenwil, Müller, Himmelberg from Wattenwil, Kropf at Langenegg, Müller, Stägmann, Liebe, Eiacher, Ruchti, Frutiger from Oberhofen, Meier from Sigriswil, Frutiger from Sigriswil, Ruff from Sigriswil, Reusser from Hilterfingen, von Gunten from Sigriswil, Ritschard from Hilterfingen, Jenni from Hilterfingen, Himmelberg from Wattenwil, Schlappach from Oberdiessbach, Schlappach from Eriz, Eicher from Schwarzenegg, Lörtscher from Latterbach, Steiner from Diessbach, Kneubühl from Diessbach, Küenzi from Diessbach, Krähenbühl from Diessbach, Rubeli from Diessbach, Rüegsegger from Diessbach, Aeschbacher from Barbersried, Roth from Diessbach, Stöckli, Gerber, Aeschbacher from Diessbach, Tschabold from Steffisburg, Bühler, Streit, Gautsche, Peter.[51]

From the Oberland the following names were represented among the Anabaptists: Anken from Spiez, Amman from Erlenbach, Zahler from Frutigen, Krebs from Reutigen, Richen from Frutigen, Thönen from Reutigen, Simon from Reutigen, Schallenberger from Erlenbach, Stähli from Hilterfingen, Stucki from Diemtigen, Schilling from Oberhofen, Furer from Oberhofen, Bauer from Oberhofen, Rubi from Frutigen, Maier from Siebenthal, Zürcher from Frutigen, Trachsel from Frutigen, Kallen from Frutigen, Bucher from Reichenbach, Frei from Hilterfingen, Lörtscher from Hilterfingen, Thönen from Frutigen, Kratzer from Aeschi, Barben from Spiez, Kröpfli from Spiez, Stutzmann from Spiez, Gerber from Thun, Wenger from Thierachern, Richen from Frutigen.[52]

Anabaptist families in the Schwarzenburg area included the following: Gasser, Stockli, Hostetler, and Bingelli.

Besides the Anabaptists themselves there was during this time a group called "half-Anabaptists" (*Halbtäufer*). They were persons who were convinced of the Anabaptist beliefs but in the face of persecution were not willing to actually join. They would usually keep nominal membership in the state church although attending Anabaptist meetings as well. Just how many there were in Bern is not known but some ministers expressed the fear that if Anabaptism would be tolerated these "'half-Anabaptists" would join the Anabaptists and outnumber the state church members in some parishes. During times of persecution they were a great aid

[51] *Ibid.*, 310, 311.
[52] *Ibid.*, 309, 310.

to the Anabaptists as they would give them protection and food as well as warn them in the face of danger. However, they were not the only ones who would aid the persecuted Anabaptists as many others would give them assistance if for no other reason than their dislike for the corrupt state church clergy.[53]

*Life of the Bernese Anabaptists in the Seventeenth Century*

That the daily conduct of the Bernese Anabaptists was on a far higher plane than that of their state church neighbors was admitted openly by even some of the Reformed clergy. So their attack was made rather on the Anabaptist theology. But continually the point was raised by the clergy themselves as well as by state officials that there should be a higher standard of conduct among the clergy. So it was that, through the influence of the Anabaptists together with the clergy's disgust with the actions of some of its members, at various times impetus was given to cleanse and purify their own ranks. The Anabaptists' neighbors in the Emmental had only the highest regard for them. This factor made it very difficult to exterminate them because the Bernese authorities could never fully rely on even the local officials to carry out their orders.

Much of the rural populace thought of the Anabaptists as saints and persons who had experienced true salvation. Since it was a common belief that to join the Anabaptists was the most certain way to attain salvation, their ranks ever increased despite severe persecution.[54] Even some of the hardened Anabaptist hunters were converted to Anabaptism.

One state church minister from the Emmental wrote that they are "quiet, retired people with a clear conscience." He also wrote that they pray much, give alms, fast often, pay their taxes, bless their persecutors, hold to the ban and avoid the company of open sinners, and use their conscience in partaking in all things. Neither did they eat nor drink to excess nor wear expensive clothing nor spend much time at play. They held strictly to nonresistance. The author of the book went so far as to advise his people to follow the

[53] Horsch, *op. cit.*, 392-396.

[54] Georgius Thormannus, V.(erbum) D.(ivini) M.(inister), *Probierstein Oder Schrifftenmässige . . . Gewissenhaffte Prüfung Dess Täuferthums . . .* (Bern, 1693); Thormann was a state church minister at Lützelflüh, a parish in the Emmental, having not a few Anabaptists at this time. He was commissioned by the state church authorities to write a book to combat the Anabaptists' religious views which were becoming popular with the people. In this volume the author does not try to raise antagonism but rather admits the better ethics of the Anabaptists over the state church. In so doing Thormann has left the only clear picture of Anabaptism in the state of Bern of this period. His arguments are directed against Anabaptist theology but seem weak in the face of the good that is said about them. A copy of the book is in the Goshen College Library.

good example of the Anabaptists in their own lives, but advised them not to follow their doctrine.[55] The same minister described the Anabaptists as being poor and unlearned handworkers who often have no more than two books besides the Bible but can preach with more earnestness and get more results than ministers of the state church.[56]

By the end of the seventeenth century few Anabaptists risked living in the villages. Most of them were located in the high valleys leading from the Emmental. Here life was difficult. Practically all of the farm work was done by hand on the steep slopes. These hardships helped condition them for the further difficulties that lay ahead in the Jura and on the American frontier.

[55] *Ibid.*, 7, 9, 10.
[56] *Ibid.*, 48.

## EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 234)

recent times American Mennonites and Quakers have found themselves closely associated in Civilian Public Service and in their Peace Testimony. At other times concerned and courageous Quakers have pleaded the cause of persecuted Mennonites before rulers. Owen Gingerich, in his article "Relations Between the Russian Mennonites and the Friends During the 19th Century," based directly on the sources, throws much new light on the subject of these interrelations, giving material hitherto relatively unknown. At the same time interesting details out of the life of the Mennonites in South Russia (and in Bavaria) are reported out of the accounts of the observant Quaker visitors in the three separate visits which they made to the Ukraine between 1819 and 1879.

Modern historical libraries with their extensive collections of printed and manuscript materials are a great asset to the scholars who must find the sources for their research studies. Until recent years no comprehensive collections have been available in the Anabaptist-Mennonite field, although the Amsterdam Mennonite library has long served in the special field of Dutch Mennonite history. One of the outstanding libraries in the broader field is the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College. The account of its origin, development, organization and holdings, given in the present issue by Nelson P. Springer, its librarian and the archivist in the Archives of the Mennonite Church, will be of much assistance to scholars and students working in the field and wishing to use its extensive resources. The list of 16th century imprint holdings, containing over 100 titles, practically all of which are rare and many excessively so, indicates something of the wealth of the library in Anabaptist materials. It will be followed by a similar list of 17th century imprints in the collection. Both of these lists are preliminary to the publication of a full catalog.

# RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RUSSIAN MENNONITES AND THE FRIENDS DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Owen Gingerich

The Society of Friends, both American and British, has long recognized its spiritual kinship with the Mennonites, particularly in the point of nonresistance. An illustration is their relationship with the Russian Mennonites during the nineteenth century and especially in the 1870's. Sympathy for the Mennonites was aroused through special envoys as well as repeated notices in Friend publications.

## *The Visit of Grellet and Allen*

The first recorded contact is apparently the visit of Stephen Grellet and William Allen, made in 1819, about thirty years after the founding of the first Russian Mennonite colony.

Stephen Grellet, son of French Catholic nobility, was born November 2, 1773, at Limoges.[1] Shortly after the French Revolution he moved to America, where he was converted to the Friends in 1795.[2] At twenty-four he was recorded as a minister and commenced on an extensive series of missionary travels throughout the United States.[3] Before his death at Burlington, New Jersey, in 1855, Grellet made four extended trips to Europe. On his third he visited Russia and contacted the Mennonite colonies there.

His companion on the third trip was an English Quaker, William Allen, noted for his philanthropic activities among the working classes. Allen was born into a Quaker family in 1748.[4] In 1792 he joined a chemical establishment at Plough Court, London, and was soon recognized as a leading chemist. He was a friend of Dr. Edward Jenner and Humphrey Davy; in 1807 he became a member of the Royal Society. Allen made several journeys to the continent in the interest of the church; the 1818-19 trip was his second.

Grellet and Allen traveled first to Scandinavia, where they received an audience with King Bernadotte of Sweden. For two

[1] Notes of Ernst Correll, from a review of Madame Abric-Eucontre, *Life of Stephen Grellet* in the French paper *Le Christianisme au 19ieme Siecle* of Oct. 31, 1873, by J. Bastide in *The* (British) *Friend,* Dec. 1, 1873, 341-42.

[2] Benjamin Seebohm (editor), *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Stephen Grellet* (London, 1860).

[3] Alfred C. Garret, *Quaker Biographies,* Vol. IV (Philadelphia, 1916), 138.

[4] Henry Dunn, *Sketches* (London, 1848).

hours they pleaded for liberty of conscience and consideration for those holding the peaceable principles of the Friends.[5] In Russia they continued their testimony before Prince Galitzin, the prime minister, and later before Czar Alexander I himself. In the spring of 1819 they returned from Petersburg by a southern route, contacting the Mennonite colonies. On May 23 they arrived at Neuenburg in the Chortitza colony.[6] On the following day they visited the Island of Chortitza and Schönwiese, and on the twenty-fifth they passed through Graenenthal, (*sic!*) on their way to Halbstadt in the Molotschna[7] colony. After visiting Orloff and Altona the pair left the Mennonites on May 29.

Grellet and Allen were not only impressed with the industry and prosperity of the Mennonites, but also with their religious sincerity. At the Chortitza colony Grellet wrote:[8] "The Mennonites, here, are preserved in much Christian simplicity, in their worship, manner of living and conversation. They have also a testimony against making the Gospel chargeable, and against wars and oaths. . . .

"In the forenoon we had a meeting with the children of several villages, collected on the occasion; their sobriety and religious sensibility, give pleasing proofs that their parents have not attempted in vain to instruct them, by example and precept, in a Christian life. . . .

"Next morning, we had another meeting with about five hundred of their young people. I have rarely met more general religious sensibility than among these. I had not spoken many sentences, when a great brokenness and many tears gave evidence of their religious feelings."

A few days later at Altona in the Molotschna colony, Grellet added: "Much quietness and simplicity is also apparent in the religious meetings of this people. They are very regular and punctual to the hour at which their meetings for worship are held. When gathered, they all kneel. They continue so in total silence, in secret meditation or prayer, about half an hour. After resuming their seats, their minister is engaged either in preaching

[5] Garret, *op. cit.*, 190.

[6] *Life of William Allen with Selections from his Correspondence,* Vol. II (London, 1846), 63-69.

[7] The Molotschna colony was established by Mennonites from Prussia in 1803, who settled along a stream by that name, which runs parallel to the Dnieper, flowing into the Sea of Azov. An earlier group of Mennonite emigrants from the Baltic area in 1789 had also settled in South Russia, north of the location later chosen for the Molotschna settlement.

[8] Seebohm, *op. cit.*, 454.

or prayer; both *extempore*. Before they separate, they kneel down again, and continue for some time in silent prayer."

In William Allen's more detailed account of a meeting at Chortitza he relates: "We found them singing a psalm according to their usual custom, and soon after they had finished, the Bishop explained to them, in German, who we were, and the object of our journey, and then exhorted them to prayer; they all knelt down, and remained a short time without uttering a word. They are in the practice of silent prayer, both at the beginning and close of their worship. We then sat as quiet as in a Friends' meeting; the presence of the Lord was with us, to our comfort, and indeed almost as soon as I sat down, my mind was humbled and contrited."[9]

In addition to the meeting at Chortitza, Grellet and Allen spoke to assemblies at Schönwiese, Petershagen, and Orloff and also attended the examination of some young people in the catechism at Petershagen. Throughout their visit they met continued kindness and consideration.

Nor did Grellet and Allen alone express their satisfaction at the visit. Jacob Fast, Elder of the congregation at Halbstadt, wrote in part:[10] "Dear friends and brethren in Christ, your honest-hearted visit to us, your edifying counsel, and your balsamic epistle, we gratefully accept as a proof of your pure brotherly love. Our hearts have been thereby united to you, and your salutary instructions have awakened in many of us, peculiar thoughtfulness. You have left your homes for the sake of the word of God, and the salvation of souls, and have offered yourselves up to his guidance for Jesus' sake. We very earnestly desire that he may accompany your important work with his saving blessing. . . ."

Allen continued correspondence with General Contineas, the military superintendent and translator in the colonies until the general's death in 1830.[11]

### *The Visit of Robson and Harvey*

Apparently few contacts with the Mennonites were made by the Friends from 1819 until 1867, when two Englishmen, Thomas Harvey and Isaac Robson, officially visited the Molotschna settlement. The earlier isolated visit of Grellet and Allen and a more recent visit by the Friend minister John Yeardley were specifically

[9] *Life of William Allen*, 65.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[11] Dunn, *op. cit.*

mentioned by Harvey and Robson in a pamphlet printed in 1872.[12] Harvey and Robson comment that their Russian Mennonite translator, Nikolai Schmidt, worked under similar conditions for Yeardley, but otherwise make no reference to his visit.[13]

Isaac Robson (1801-1885) was already noted for his interest in the temperance cause, peace societies, and Sunday schools when he made this trip to South Russia.[14] Robson was a tea-dealer first in Liverpool and after 1838 in Huddersfield. In 1844 he became a minister in the Society of Friends. In 1870-71 he visited the Friends and also the Mennonites in America.

His partner, Thomas Harvey (1812-1884), was a retired businessman in near-by Leeds.[15] Harvey's missions to the West Indies aroused his sympathy for the antislavery cause. He was recorded as a minister in 1868, after his visit to Russia.

A confidential report to the (London) Yearly Meeting of Friends in 1868 gives the details of the journey. Because the members feared the jealousy of the Greek Church in regards to proselytism, the paper was not read in order to avoid publicity, though a limited number of copies were struck off for perusal of Friends.[16] At the preceding Yearly Meeting in June, 1867, Robson was appointed for religious service in South Russia, chiefly among the Molokans. He was joined in August by Harvey, and on the eighth of that month the two left London.[17]

On August 22 the pair had reached Augsburg in Bavaria on their eastward journey, where they paid a visit to one of the Lutheran ministers in hope of getting information about the Mennonites, and then proceeded to the Mennonite settlement at Neuburg on the Danube near Donauwörth, visiting a family named Oesch. The following Sunday they worshiped in a farmhouse at Neuhof near by. Their host, Jacob Hage (Hege), mentioned the earlier visit of William Allen. Then the group of twenty commenced their service with a hymn, sermon, and "a very long prayer from a book." Both Robson and Harvey were invited to speak. A second sermon, Scripture reading, and a hymn concluded the

[12] Isaac Robson and Thomas Harvey, *The Mennonites of South Russia,* Birmingham, 1872, p. 5, an unpublished ms. in the Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore College (0. 2506).

[13] *Yearly Meeting, 1868, Narrative of the Visit of Isaac Robson and Thomas Harvey to the South of Russia,* p. 14, an unpublished ms. in the Swarthmore College Friends Historical Library (0. 2505).

[14] Ernst Correll's notes in Goshen College Historical Library from *Annual Monitas* (London, 1886), 126-135.

[15] *Ibid.,* 79-89.

[16] *Yearly Meeting 1868.*

[17] *Ibid.,* 4.

meeting. "There was much handshaking and kind greeting afterwards, with inquiry about our places of abode, etc. In a short time the cloth was laid, and the company sat down together, and partook of a homely but bountiful dinner. A pause of devotional silence was observed before and after the meal. . . . Most of this little company had come considerable distances, one family about thirty miles to attend the meeting, Their appearance was that of plain but well-to-do farmers, and there was much solidity in their countenances."[18]

Robson and Harvey did not again contact any Mennonites until they reached South Russia where Cornelius Jansen rescued them from a dirty hotel in Berdiansk on October 9.[19] The travelers spent several days with Jansen, attending two special meetings as well as the regular Lord's day meeting. Jansen then offered to accompany them on a visit of the colonies. Accordingly the group visited Rudnerweide, Gnadenfeld, Steinbach, and Tiegenhagen. At Tiegenhagen they were entertained by Jacob Martens, a minister, who, when a boy of fourteen, had attended a meeting held by Stephen Grellet.

### *Appeals to the English Friends*

The contact with Cornelius Jansen was especially valuable, for they exchanged correspondence with him many years. In this way Robson and Harvey were continually posted on the situation in Russia, and could operate as a liaison between the Mennonites and Friends during the crisis of the 1870's. When it became apparent in 1872 that many Mennonites would be forced to emigrate, Robson and Harvey printed a pamphlet, *The Mennonites of South Russia,* briefly outlining Mennonite history and principles, as well as including excerpts of letters from Jansen. "By all this the persecution is near," wrote Jansen to Harvey. "We cannot work as we would like to do, because we get, already, information that our endeavors are known to (at) St. Petersburgh. They call it there 'a stir up for emigration.' As far as we get an encouraging answer from the English and American Governments, a deputation will go thither, and I hope then, by my Lord's assistance, to see you, dear English friends. . . . "[20]

The pamphlet closed with a condemnation of indirect military service, such as the medical service (*Sanitätsdienst*), which was

[18] *Ibid.,* 8.

[19] Cornelius Jansen, a Mennonite businessman, was the German consul at Berdiansk. Further details of his life may be found in Peter Jansen, *Memoirs of Peter Jansen* (Beatrice, Nebraska, 1921).

[20] Robson and Harvey, *op. cit.,* 7.

being offered as alternate service by the Russian government. "When, perchance, do our young people more need assistance in soul and body, exhortation, supervision?" writes Jansen. "Where is every virtue more trodden under foot, and the poisonous effluvium of vice of every kind—which, although invisible, is yet not the less body and soul alike destroying—more inhaled than in army service? No matter, though it consist of office, lazaretto, train, or such like services?

"Pray let us no longer regard the rendering of such services so superficially as even, by advocating sanitary services *under martial law,* to be willing to avail ourselves of that absurd conception of 'Samaritan service,' and so deceive ourselves and others."[21]

Several years later in the Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, newspaper, Helena Jansen, daughter of Cornelius, mentioned the work of Robson and Harvey during this period: "In the year 1867 a religious visit was paid to our colonies by two English Friends, Thomas Harvey and Isaac Robson (with whom we agreed in not accepting war). These felt the necessity of addressing our people with an encouraging tract which was to be printed in our language at Odessa. It was soon sent back (some sentences being entirely crossed and blotted) with the notice that they could not be printed in our country. The following paragraph was one of those especially prohibited in which our dear friend Isaac Robson says:

" 'Is it not His (God's) purpose that you should not only be blessed yourselves, but also that you should be a blessing to others—that your light should so shine before men that others, seeing your good works, should also be brought to glorify your Father who is in heaven. . . .

" 'I do not forget the difficulties of you [*sic!*] position, nor the danger which might result from attempts to enlighten your more ignorant neighbors, but I feel it right to endeavor a little to stir you up by putting you in remembrance of these things.' "[22]

Harvey's interest in the Mennonite cause continued, and in October of 1873 he wrote in *The Friend* of London: "About a year ago Isaac Robson and myself circulated some information among Friends respecting the Mennonites of South Russia, especially in regard to their being exposed (prospectively) to military conscription or required instead to render hospital or other non-fighting service in connection with the army. It seems desirable to add a

[21] *Ibid.,* 12.

[22] Funk Scrapbooks, Mennonite Church Archives, Mennonite Historical Library, Vol. III, 246; reprinted in the American *Friend,* Eleventh Month 7, 1875, 107-108.

little more information, more especially as the occasional notices of the Mennonites in the newspapers are not always accurate. We have seen paragraphs stating that considerable emigration has already taken place, and a London paper lately gave 400,000 as the number of German Mennonites in South Russia. According to estimates of our own, they are only about 40,000. . . . We believe no extensive movement towards [emigration] has yet taken place, and that very few have actually left Russia. Although the right of emigration has been conceded in express terms by the Russian Government, yet practically serious impediments exist. . . .

"Another beloved friend, Cornelius Jansen, with his wife, six children, and his wife's sister, passed through Leeds near the close of the Seventh Month, where they spent a few days. He much wished to have visited some Friends in London and a few other places, but he was pressed to hasten his journey. . . ."[23]

In January of the following year Harvey again announced in *The Friend* that he had received letters from Jansen, who had arrived at Berlin, Ontario.[24] Jansen reported that he had made extensive journeys in Canada and the States on behalf of the emigrants, and that 35 families had already arrived in New York.

Three months later Harvey forwarded an appeal for funds from the Mennonite monthly *Herald of Truth* (Elkhart, Ind.) to *The Friend*. "May I ask thee to insert some quotations," he writes, "which supply information relative to the anticipated migration of Mennonites from South Russia to North America. The first extract is from an 'Appeal' from the Russian brethren, dated 'January 6th, 1874,' and signed by a number of their elders. The estimate it gives of $40,000 as the sum required by way of loan, for the assistance of necessitous emigrants, is evidently regarded in America as much too low. It is gratifying to observe that the Mennonites in the States, and in Canada, are making earnest efforts to help their distressed friends; and among other means it is proposed that some of the well-to-do farmers should find the poorer emigrants employment, and enable them to work out means of settling in the land. Added to the great difficulties unavoidably attending emigration itself, are the obstacles thrown in the way by the Russian authorities.

[23] *The Friend* (British), Tenth Month 1, 1873, 247-48. (All notes from *The Friend* were obtained from typescript copies in the Ernst Correll collection, Goshen College Mennonite Historical Library.) All further citations from the *Friend* refer to the British *Friend*.

[24] *The Friend*, First Month 1, 1874, 3.

"The case is one calling for the earnest sympathy of Friends, whose attention it is hoped will continue to be directed to it."[25]

Robson and Harvey introduced the case for the Mennonites in the Friends Meeting for Sufferings (London) held in May and again in April, 1874. The Meeting referred the problem to a committee which made inquiries but did not recommend any course of action. The committee was discharged in September. The following February Robson again presented the subject to the Meeting for Sufferings, at which time Harvey and Robson were requested to prepare a short statement. The statement was circulated throughout the country, and a number of subscriptions on behalf of the Mennonites were received.[26]

Meanwhile *The Friend* continued to supply the latest information about the migration. Quoting from *The Spectator* in October they indicated that 15,000 Mennonites had taken this step,[27] but the following month Harvey wrote: "In a recent number of the *Herald of Truth*. . . , it is stated that 800 families of Mennonites, equal to about 4,000 persons, have reached Canada this year. The emigration to various parts of the United States is probably at least equal to that to British America. The American Mennonites in both countries have made liberal contributions for the help of the needy immigrants, which have been advanced on loan—a whole congregation in some cases, becoming responsible for the repayment in a few years of the sums advanced. The amounts raised have all been absorbed by the wants of the arriving parties this year. It will be observed, from the letter below, that the Russian Mennonites who have means assist their poorer brethren.

"I think it will be generally felt by Friends that the case is one that claims our brotherly Christian sympathy, and, should the need arise, I hope the liberality of Friends will not be wanting to assist these exiles from home and country for conscience' sake."[28]

The letter, from a Russian Mennonite, which accompanied the article, described the difficulty in obtaining passports and the pressure exerted by General Todtleben to have them remain. "The Harvert is exceptionally good this year," he added, "and this circumstance is favourable for clearing out for those resolved on emigrating."

[25] *The Friend,* Fourth Month 1, 1874, 70.

[26] *Extracts from the Minutes and Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London, 1847* (London), 30ff.; 1875, 55ff.

[27] *The Friend,* Tenth Month 1, 1874, 300.

[28] *The Friend,* Eleventh Month 2, 1874, 330-31.

In 1875 *The Friend* carried notices about the migration nearly every month. In January an editor's note indicated that Thomas Harvey would take charge of any contributions,[29] and the following month Harvey reported that £60 had already been collected: "In Canada and the States the Mennonites have raised $40,000 in each country, which has already been absorbed, chiefly in assisting to defray transit expenses. . . . We have anxiously considered what is our duty under the circumstances, and we do not at present see that it would be desirable to attempt to raise funds to defray the voyaging or travelling expenses of the emigrants; but we are anxious to send out help for relief of present urgent need, and also for the purchase of seed and implements. A part of the money it may be best to advance by way of loan.

"We have already remitted £60, received from Friends since last month, to John Funck (*sic!*), treasurer of the Mennonite Fund in the United States, for application as described; but this, it is evident, will go but a little way."[30]

Cornelius Jansen added to the appeal, writing, "'I think if among English Friends could be found some assistance for such as just now described, and if only to lend them by per cent, and perhaps for several years, the whole society would ensure it, to enable them in due time to till and sow their land to be saved from ruin. I leave this to your meditation, my dear friends."

Another probable contact was reported in the same issue by Robson and Harvey. "In Twelfth Month a party of about 350 Mennonites emigrating from Russian Poland to America were detained at Liverpool, through small-pox appearing among them, and were placed in the hospital in the workhouse of that town. Their comfort and welfare were most kindly looked after by several Christian friends, among whom J. W. Cropper and his relations were unwearied. We are informed their general conduct was such as greatly to please and interest those who came into communication with them, and that they were very grateful for the kindness shown them. Four or five deaths occurred among the children. The greater number have left for America; but we hear five families are detained in Liverpool." These remarks were confirmed by an extensive quote from the Liverpool *Daily Post* of February, 1875.[31]

An insight into the attitude of the Friends is provided by Thomas Harvey in *The Friend* for March, 1875. "We carefully

[29] *The Friend,* First Month 1, 1875, 23.
[30] *The Friend,* Second Month 1, 1875, 43-44.
[31] *Ibid.,* 74-75.

pondered the question of raising funds to assist the emigration, but always felt a stop in the way—(1) because of the vastness of the need supposing the emigration to become general, and the inadequacy of any aid likely to be raised to meet it; (2) because such a fund would be likely to give an unhealthy stimulus to a movement which ought to spring from conscientious motives, requiring and deserving self-sacrifice; (3) that it would be offensive to the Russian Government, and give ground for representing the whole affair as one of foreign origin; (4) and, lastly, because such an interposition of Friends would have tended to check self-help and mutual aid, also the help of the American Mennonites, which has now been liberally rendered, and is likely to be sustained.

"The question has now passed into a phase in which Friends can assist, and in which their aid is urgently needed for the succour of temporary distress, which, without fault of their own, has overtaken numbers of those who have emigrated, and have been driven into the late autumn and winter for their first attempt to settle."[32]

Definite material aid to the extent of £1060 was reported in April by Robson, treasurer of the Fund, and Harvey.[33] Of this £60 went to John Funk for immediate aid, and three installments of £205, £175, and £620 went to Cornelius Jansen which were spent primarily for seeds and farm implements. The first two installments to Jansen brought $2,100.68, while the sum to Funk equaled $333.97.

Again in May the totals were presented, showing that £200 had by this time been remitted to John Funk in Elkhart. An interesting note from America was relayed by Mrs. Jansen from Benjamin Ratzlaff's son to Robson: "Being, on Saturday, in Sutton, Eldest (*sic!*) Isaac Peters came to me and handed me, quite unexpected, another money-order for $50, which filled my heart with gladness, and made me feel very thankful."[34]

"We learn from *The Friends' Review* that some of our friends of Philadelphia are inviting the contributions of our American Friends to the same object,"[35] reported Harvey and Robson in July. Concerning the English contributions, "about £600 remains in bank in this country, in reserve for the emergencies of next winter." In October they again referred to this amount. "At present the pressure of urgent need is abated, and the emigrants appear to be

[32] *The Friend,* Third Month 1, 1875, 75.
[33] *The Friend,* Fourth Month 1, 1875, 93-94.
[34] *The Friend,* Fifth Month 1, 1875, 122.
[35] *The Friend,* Seventh Month 3, 1875, 186.

beginning to enjoy crops of their own raising. As the arrivals of 1875 are thus far at a favourable season of the year, we do not hear of any distress among them requiring aid from the fund raised by English Friends, of which £600 remains on hand."[36]

With the close of 1875, notices in *The Friend* became more scattered. These briefly report the hardships of the Mennonites in America, and their thankfulness for the aid. A final note in July, 1876, leaves much information to be desired concerning the eventual disposition of the funds: "The number who have left Russia for various parts of North America to the present time is stated at from 9,000 to 10,000. We do not hear of a very active emigration this season, owing, it is supposed, to last year's harvest not having been good in the Mennonite colonies of South Russia, and the consequent difficulty of selling property and finding means to remove. Among those who have already reached America there does not appear latterly to have been much severe distress, or great need of special help.

"There are considerable funds still in bank in this country, and also in the United States. With reference to the latter, our friend Cornelius Jansen in a letter to I. Robson, dated Mount Pleasant, Iowa, Fourth Month 13th, 1876, says: 'We have yet money in hand (at 6 per cent interest); but time will come when we will need it *very much*—perhaps not soon, but in the last years. . . . At present I have sent, since January, for arrived poor (in your name) to be used for seed and agricultural implements, to—

| | |
|---|---|
| Elder ———, Kansas, | $100 |
| Elder ———, Nebraska, | $150 |
| Elder ———, Nebraska, | $300' |

"P.S.—Since the above was written, the Mennonite *Herald of Truth* has come to hand, which contains information that about 200 families were expecting to embark from South Russia, about the 1st of the present month, by the Red Star Line."[37]

Although the apparent absence of further notes in *The Friend* indicates that interest in the Mennonite cause subsided, we can conclude that at least £1800 or $10,000 were donated during 1875, primarily through the interest generated by Robson and Harvey. The interest undoubtedly continued, for in 1879 they wrote a small tract encouraging the migrated Mennonites. It was translated and published in Elkhart under the title *An die in den Vereinigten*

[36] *The Friend,* Tenth Month 1, 1875, 269.
[37] *The Friend,* Seventh Month 1, 1876, 182.

*Staaten aus Süd-Ruszland eingewanderten sogenannten Mennoniten.*

### *The Visit of Hobbs*

An American Friend, Barnabus C. Hobbs, played the key role in Friends-Mennonites relations as the crisis of the 1870's closed. One of the most widely known Friends in America, Hobbs was a professor and later Principal of the Friends Bloomingdale Academy in Indiana. He was the first superintendent of schools in Indiana, and was for a time President of Earlham College. When the Friends of America were moved to send a message to Alexander, the Emperor of Russia, on behalf of the Mennonites, Hobbs was chosen to perform the mission.[38]

A committee to provide arrangements for the journey was appointed at the English Meeting for Sufferings in August, 1878.[39] Charles Tylor, a Friends minister from Manchester, England, was chosen to accompany Hobbs. Before leaving London, Hobbs prepared a Memorial respecting the Russian Mennonites for presentation to the Emperor.

The United States Minister, W. E. Stoughton, arranged an audience with M. DeGueres, a high-ranking official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Hobbs stated the object of the visit and discussed the problem of the subjects who conscientiously refused to bear arms. Although they were unable to obtain an audience with the Emperor, DeGueres presented both the Memorial and a historical statement on the policy in the United States towards conscientious objectors.

Hobbs wrote, in part: "The Society of Friends, whom we represent, have shown that their sympathies are not confined to citizens of their own nation. When sanguinary strife has desolated the land, either in America or Europe, and left thousands of innocent as well as suffering victims of the war, our people have readily come forward to afford relief, irrespective of creed and nationality. Under a similar feeling of Christian sympathy we would present and advocate the claims of those who suffer for conscience' sake, as children of the same merciful Father.

"Many of the Mennonites, subjects of the Russian empire, have left their long-loved homes, and, at great sacrifice, sought other homes far west in America. Some of these have become citi-

[38] Information supplied from an obituary from B. W. Kelly, January 13, 1943, in a letter now in the Ernst Correll Collection, Goshen College Mennonite Historical Library.

zens of Indiana, my (B.C.H.) native state, whilst many of the Friends in England, discovering their need, have by their contributions relieved their sufferings on their journey.

"They have expatriated themselves, they say, not because they do not love their sovereign and country, but that they may enjoy the liberty of serving and worshipping Almighty God, as they believe He requires of them, acknowledging Him as Sovereign and Lord over the lives and consciences of all men. . . .

"We do not claim relief from military service on the ground of exemption from our duty in the support of civil government, but desire ever to be found faithful in every allotment in life, 'rendering to Caesar the things that are Caesar's,' whilst invoking the blessing of heaven upon our rulers."

After visiting St. Petersburg, Hobbs and Tylor proceeded on a similar visit to Berlin to present the peace testimony of the Friends. The principal officials being absent, however, Hobbs left and completed the mission with a second trip early in 1879.

By 1880 the crisis had passed, the Russian government had offered a satisfactory compromise, and the migration had been nearly completed. Evidently interest in the Russian Mennonites declined, for references end at this time, although the influence of the Friends remained with the migrated Mennonites.

[39] *Extracts from the Minutes and Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, held in London, 1879,* 73-89, ms. in Ernst Correll Collection, MHL.

# THE MENNONITE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AT GOSHEN COLLEGE

NELSON P. SPRINGER

## *The Beginnings of the Mennonite Historical Library*

The Mennonite Church in America was composed almost entirely of rural people throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Struggles against opposition of various sorts in Europe, the hardships of pioneer life in America, and a philosophy of simple living tended to make them an isolated and conservative people. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century a new spirit became apparent. Almost simultaneously, individuals or groups began to launch out into new areas of Christian service, including education.

In 1895 the Elkhart Institute Association opened a school of "higher education" for Mennonite young people. The school operated as an academy or high school in Elkhart, Indiana, until 1903, when it was moved to near-by Goshen. There, as Goshen College, it offered junior college, as well as academy work. By 1910 the curriculum was extended to a full four-year course, offering degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science. In 1906 Goshen College was transferred from the ownership and control of the Elkhart Institute Association to the Mennonite Board of Education, incorporated that same year. The Board, composed of representatives from most of the district conferences of the (Old) Mennonite Church, has continued to own and operate the College since that time. In 1934 the academy was discontinued, but the college program has continued to grow. The four-year Bachelor of Theology curriculum, set up in 1933, continued to grow until 1942, when the course was extended to a five-year program.[1] In 1944 the Bible Department was made a separate school in the College. Two years later the name was changed to Goshen College Biblical Seminary. The curriculum included a five-year program leading to the Bachelor of Theology degree and a seven-year program leading to the Bachelor of Divinity degree.[2]

The Foreword to a souvenir booklet published by the College at the time of the celebration of its fiftieth anniversary in 1945

[1] *Fiftieth Anniversary, Goshen College, 1895-1945* (Goshen, Indiana: Goshen College, c. 1945), 5, 7, 22.

[2] *Goshen College Bulletin,* XXXVIII:3 (March, 1944), 29; XL:3 (March, 1946), 79f.

cites church history and research among the traditions of the College:

> Throughout the years of this half century there has also pulsated through our common desires the wish that students enrolled here should have an increasing love for the Mennonite Church. Such a love rests on an understanding of the history of the church and a continual recapturing of the visions of our church fathers. So, from the beginning until now, Goshen has sought to make available to her students not alone a knowledge of the past but also an interpretation of the teachings of the past to the problems we need to face now. Church history and research are a part of our tradition and they will endure.[3]

C. Henry Smith, first librarian of Goshen College and later professor of history and dean of the College, is credited with the idea of establishing a Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College.[4] Smith himself assigns the responsibility for getting the movement started to J. M. Kurtz, then teaching chemistry at Goshen College and chairman of the Student Library Association, and John Umble, then president of the Goshen College Alumni Association.[5] According to the minutes of the Alumni Association, June 13, 1906, a resolution that the Alumni Association establish a Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College carried, but a second motion authorizing the expenditure of no more than $300.00 for the establishment of such a library failed.[6] At a later meeting, February 2, 1907, the Executive Board of the Association passed a resolution, authorizing, "That the acquisition of the books be given to Mr. Kurtz and Mr. Smith, keeping the money within the limit of sixty dollars ($60) and buying such articles as they shall determine upon." April 8, 1907, the Executive Board authorized the purchase of a stamp and plate.

Just when the collection became the property of the school is not clear. According to the annual catalog of the College, 1910, the Mennonite Historical Library was a "collection of books on Mennonite history and literature which has been donated to the College by the Alumni Association and private individuals."[7] Ac-

[3] *Fiftieth Anniversary,* 3.
[4] *Ibid.,* 24.
[5] Letter from C. Henry Smith to Eunice Schrock, November 20, 1936, quoted in a term paper by Miss Schrock, "Extracts from 'The Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College,'" December 10, 1936. The paper is filed in the Mennonite Historical Library.
[6] Unfortunately, the minutes of the Alumni Association for this period disappeared from the office of the Secretary of the Association a few years ago, according to a letter from Leland A. Bachman, Business Manager of Goshen College, to Nelson Springer, Nov. 14, 1950. This reference to the minutes of the Association and those which follow have been taken from the term paper by Eunice Schrock cited in the preceding footnote.
[7] *Bulletin of Goshen College,* V:1 (May, 1910), 14.

cording to the minutes of the Alumni Association, however, Professor H. L. Stump, acting for the Association, presented "The Mennonite Historical Library" to the College on June 12, 1912, President N. E. Byers receiving the gift in behalf of the College. No doubt, there was mutual understanding between the College and the Association that the latter was building the collection as a gift to the College. The books were already a part of the College library, but the collection had not been formally presented before this date. At that time the total accessions of the Goshen College Library were below 4,000. As nearly as can be ascertained from accession numbers on the cards in the shelf list of the Mennonite Historical Library, there were no more than eighty books in the collection in 1912. In 1913, C. Henry Smith resigned from the faculty of Goshen College. For more than a decade little was added to the Mennonite Historical Library.[8] There is no evidence that the Mennonite Historical Society, organized in 1921, made any contribution to the Library until its reorganization in 1924.

### *Building the Collection*

1924 marks the beginning of intense and sustained effort to make the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College "one of the most valuable of its kind in America," as it was rather presumptuously described in the College catalog from 1914 until 1925.[9] The College had been closed for reorganization during the academic year 1923-24. Among the faculty when it reopened in the fall of 1924 was Harold S. Bender, a young man who had just returned from a year of study in Europe. In the lands that saw the rise of Anabaptism, particularly in its Swiss Brethren phase, he had caught a vision of the value to the Mennonite Church of the study of its own history. Ernst Correll, already an experienced research scholar in the field of Mennonite history, traveled to America with Bender and served on the faculty at Goshen College for the next few years. Together they aroused interest in and led the revival of the Mennonite Historical Society, a faculty-student organization, which immediately took up the task of expanding the Mennonite Historical Library.[10] Since the organization of the Society in 1924, Bender has served as its president continuously.

[8] *Fiftieth Anniversary*, 24.

[9] *Bulletin of Goshen College*, IX:2 (May, 1914), 98. The statement is repeated without change from year to year until 1925.

[10] *Fiftieth Anniversary*, 24. A Mennonite Historical Society had been organized in 1921, but had become moribund.

Commenting on the rebirth of the Society, Bender reported in the *Goshen College Record*:

> Naturally the society is taking special interest in the Mennonite Historical Library which is a part of the college library. It expects to purchase books and materials to constantly enlarge and improve the library which is already quite extensive. A drive for old books from the churches throughout the country will soon be undertaken. President Yoder has already given this work a good start by bringing to the library some old and valuable books from Kalona, Iowa, with the promise of more to come. . . . [11]

The vigorous campaign of collecting historical materials which Bender initiated a quarter of a century ago has never ceased. In connection with his responsibilities under various church agencies, Bender has traveled widely in the United States, Canada, Europe, and South America. Wherever he has gone, he has always been on the alert for materials which would enrich the collection and has personally collected several thousand volumes.

Other officers and members of the Society have collected materials to a lesser degree than Bender. But the Society as a whole has served chiefly through the funds which it made available throughout a time when Goshen College finances would not permit expenditure of regular library appropriations for the building of the collection. During its first year the Society spent approximately $50.00 for the purchase of books for the Mennonite Historical Library.[12] At the end of twenty-five years, it had supplied something like $4000.00 for the building of the collection, including the following types of expenditures:[13]

| | |
|---|---|
| Binding of periodicals and serials, theses, etc. | $580.00 |
| Books, exclusive of special purchase in Europe | 1590.00 |
| Purchase of books in Europe, 1947-49 | 945.00 |
| Microfilm | 45.00 |
| Pictures and framing | 80.00 |
| Bookcases | 560.00 |

The original constitution of the Mennonite Historical Society included among its purposes:

> 4. The care, management, and increase of the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College.

[11] H. S. Bender, "Mennonite Historical Society," *Goshen College Record*, XVI:1 (October, 1924), 5f.

[12] *The Maple Leaf*, X (1925), 66.

[13] Mennonite Historical Society, *Treasurer's Summary Report, 1924/25-1948/49* (Mimeographed). The amounts have been rounded off slightly below actual dollars-and-cents totals. It should be noted that these expenditures do not include exchanges and gifts secured in the name of the Society. During the fiscal year 1949-50 an additional sum of $500.00 was spent for books, binding, and other Mennonite Historical Library purposes.

5. Cultivation of interest in and collection of material relative to Mennonite family histories.[14]

In 1928 the Society adopted the following: "Resolved, that all books purchased by the Historical Society are the property of Goshen College, and are to be kept in a separate collection, the Mennonite Historical Library."[15] This has been interpreted to mean copies of books which are not already in the collection or those which will be accessioned as added copies. Duplicates are sometimes purchased by the Society for exchange purposes and remain its property until they are traded or resold. Since the Society retains no ownership of items in the collection, it no longer assumes responsibility for care and management, but it continues its interest in increasing the collection—not only materials relative to Mennonite family histories, but all materials of significance to Mennonite history.

I have already noted the fact that 1924 marks the beginning of intense effort to build the collection at Goshen. In the preface to his *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature,* H. S. Bender explains that a "prime necessity for the Mennonite historian" was the collection and cataloging of the literature of the American Mennonites. He further elaborates:

> This task I undertook in the autumn of 1924. . . . Since most of the literature of the earlier days was out of print, and not to be had even in the shops of antiquarians, it was necessary to make a personal search in the only places where this literature was to be found, namely, in the homes of Mennonites. So the search proceeded. In these five years, through the gracious consent and aid of innumerable kind friends, I have sought the desired volumes in hundreds of homes in the more populous Mennonite centers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ontario, Ohio, and Indiana. It has been on the whole a pleasant and even delightful search. Often fruitless, yet occasionally it has been richly rewarded, to the joy of seeker and friend alike. The tragedies of book-collecting have pursued me likewise. It has been my lot to hear many times the doleful story of recent selling of old papers and books to the junk dealer, or of burning as rubbish at the last house cleaning. At places too, other seekers had preceded me, especially in Pennsylvania. Governor Pennypacker and A. H. Cassell of Harleysville had been everywhere, yet even they had not found everything. The most pleasant side of the experience was the almost uniform generosity. Seldom was any opposition met, but rarely was a price asked, and occasionally I was thanked and almost paid for taking the old books away. One kindly old lady in Lancaster County had been puzzled almost to distraction by the problem of her old German religious books. She could no longer read them: to throw them away was a sin; none of her friends

[14] *The Maple Leaf,* X (1925), 66.

[15] Quoted by H. S. Bender, "Mennonite Historical Society Notes," *Goshen College Record,* XXIX:9 (June, 1928), 16f.

wanted them; to sell them would have been a sacrilege. Out of a full heart she thanked me kindly for having been so kind as to relieve her of her books.[16]

For a number of years *The Goshen College Record* (published monthly at that time) gave a page or more to "Mennonite Historical Society Notes," written by H. S. Bender, which trace the growth of the collection. In May, 1927, Bender summarized donations he and the treasurer of the Society had secured in Fulton County, Ohio, by listing the donors. He then describes a Bible he had seen in that community:

> On the same trip the exceedingly rare copy of the first edition of the Froschouer (!) Swiss Bible in the possession of Bishop E. L. Frey was examined. The New Testament was printed at Zurich in 1524, and all of the Old Testament except the Prophets at the same place in 1525. The Prophets were printed there in 1529. The Bible is in a very good state of preservation and apparently has been in the family during this entire period. It is doubtful whether another copy of this issue exists in private hands in America, possibly not in a library.[17]

The Bible now stands in a case with other rare folios of the collection. Notations on the front cover indicate that Mr. Frey presented it to the Library in 1940. They also state that the Bible was rebound in 1870.

The issues of the *Record* from October, 1927, through January, 1928, report Bender's travels during the summer months of 1927. Going from one Mennonite community to another, he visited home after home and returned with a total of approximately five hundred books, plus pamphlets, almanacs, and other materials, chiefly of the American Mennonites. He reports in some detail his visits in Washington County, Maryland; Columbiana, Holmes, Logan, and Wayne counties, Ohio; Bucks, Lancaster, Mifflin, Montomery, and Somerset counties and the Johnstown and Springs districts in Pennsylvania, naming donors and others who helped him and listing some of the more valuable titles received. Similarly, S. C. Yoder, President of the College, contacted friends in Ontario.[18] In March, 1928, Bender reports purchase of nearly complete files of *The Herald of Truth, Der Herold der Wahrheit, Mennonitische Rundschau,* and *The Family Almanac*—important serials in Mennonite circles for the period 1864 to 1908.[19]

[16] Harold S. Bender, *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature* (Goshen, Indiana: The Mennonite Historical Society, 1929), vii.
[17] *Goshen College Record*. XXVIII:8 (May, 1927), 3f.
[18] *Ibid.*, XXIX:1 (October, 1927), 13; XXIX:2 (November, 1927), 15; XXIX:3 (December, 1927), 15; XXIX:4 (January, 1928), 13.
[19] *Ibid.*, XXIX:6 (March, 1928), 13.

In the meantime, the struggling collection had been given a boost by a shipment of seventy-three titles (eighty volumes) of duplicates from the historical collection of the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, Pennsylvania. These duplicates from Scottdale's holdings were puchased by the Mennonite Historical Society during the year 1925-26.[20]

The annual catalog of the College for 1931 reports, "This collection was greatly enriched in 1930 by the accession of the private library, including many valuable papers of the late John F. Funk of Elkhart, Mennonite minister, author, and publisher."[21] Again the catalog statement needs qualification. Bender explains, "The extensive private collection of John F. Funk of Elkhart, Indiana, has been purchased by the Mennonite Publishing House, although minor portions were secured by the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College."[22] By this it is to be understood that the Mennonite Publishing House first purchased titles which were in the Funk library and not in their own. After the people at the House had selected what they wanted for their collection, the Mennonite Historical Society purchased the rest of the Funk library for the Mennonite Historical Library. In addition to the books, however, there were Funk's personal papers—a valuable and extensive collection of personal and official records which reflect Funk's activities and interests as a minister and bishop in the Mennonite congregation in Elkhart, as a leader in the wider activities of the (Old) Mennonite Church, as a promoter of Mennonite emigration from Russia to the western plains states, as a businessman, and as the father of a family. The collection is now stored in the Archives of the Mennonite Church.

The Goshen College student annual and the catalog number of the *Goshen College Bulletin* usually carry brief descriptions of the Mennonite Historical Library—frequently only two or three sentences. From these statements one gets a rough idea of the numerical growth of the holdings of the Library. In 1930 they were estimated at 1,500.[23] In 1931, the estimate was 2,000, plus a large number of pamphlets, manuscripts, and other objects of historical value.[24] This had changed to 2,500 volumes in 1943.[25] In 1945

[20] *Maple Leaf*, XI (1926), 78.
[21] *Goshen College Bulletin*, XXV:5 (May, 1931), 22.
[22] Bender, *Two Centuries*, vii.
[23] *Maple Leaf*, XXV (1930), 83.
[24] *Ibid.*, XXVI (1931), 81.
[25] *Goshen College Bulletin*, XXXVII:3 (March, 1943), 24.

there were 2,900;[26] in 1947, over 3,000;[27] and in 1948, over 3,500.[28] Since the accession records for the collection are included with the total accessions of the Goshen College Library, and no separate records have been kept for the collection alone, these reports must be estimates. No doubt, the numbers often lagged behind actual holdings.

The accessions of the early 1940's not only increased the numerical holdings of the Library substantially, but also qualitatively, as a result of the transfer of the major part of the historical collection from the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, Pennsylvania, totaling approximately nine hundred volumes of Dutch and German Anabaptist and Mennonite materials.

In the years 1947, 1948, and 1949 the Mennonite Historical Society purchased books extensively in Europe. Although they were gathered from many points in western Europe, important portions of the total came from two private libraries. The first was the library of the late Professor W. J. Kühler, for many years Professor of Church History in the Theological Faculty of the University of Amsterdam and the Mennonite seminary there, and librarian of the large collection of Mennonite materials owned by the United Mennonite congregation in Amsterdam. The other was the library of the late Christian Hege, of Frankfurt-on-the-Main, Germany, one of the coeditors of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* until his death in 1943. Both libraries were compared with a check list of the holdings of the Mennonite Historical Library, and materials not to be found there were purchased. The Hege collection included some very valuable manuscript materials of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, described with other manuscript holdings of the Library in the later section of this paper entitled "The Archives of the Mennonite Church." These and other materials from Europe strengthened the collection immeasurably. The total of all funds from the library budget and from the gifts of the Mennonite Historical Society and interested friends spent in this particular campaign amounted to $1,425.00—the largest sum to be spent in a comparable time for accessions to the collection.[29]

In August, 1951, a tally of the shelf list placed the number of catalogued volumes at 4,800. In addition there were 1,450 volumes awaiting cataloging and at least 3,200 bound volumes of a serial

[26] *Ibid.*, XXXIX:3 (March, 1945), 17.
[27] *Ibid.*, XLI:3 (March, 1947), 22.
[28] *Ibid.*, XLII:3 (March, 1948), 22.
[29] *Maple Leaf*, 1949, 72.

nature—a total of 9,450 volumes. The tally for books includes some material of a pamphlet nature.[30] More than half of the volumes are in the German language, one third are in English, and one eighth in Dutch. Ten other languages and dialects are represented in the remaining two per cent of the holdings.

### *The Housing of the Collection*

The Mennonite Historical Library occupied three shelves in the regular library stacks until 1927.[31] At that time, a room on the third floor of the Administration Building was set aside for the use of the Mennonite Historical Society, and the Historical Library was placed in cases there. Slightly more than a year later, the Library was moved to the first floor of the same building into a room that provided more space and better accessibility.[32] In 1933 the graduating class of the College made a gift of steel shelving for the Library.[33] But the location had two very undesirable features. The Administration Building was not of a fireproof construction, and the campus heating plant was in a basement room adjoining the one directly beneath the Library. There was naturally concern over the safety of the treasures of the collection.

On June 8, 1940, the College dedicated its new, fireproof Memorial Library Building. Although the regular library was not moved to the new building until July 3, the Mennonite Historical Library had been moved prior to the dedication and was open for inspection at that time.[34]

On the basement floor of the new building were three rooms set aside for historical purposes: the Mennonite Historical Library reading room (forty-three by thirty-one feet), and two smaller rooms leased to the Archives of the Mennonite Church—an office and workroom (twenty-five by seventeen and one-half feet), and a stack room (twenty-one by eleven feet). The Mennonite Historical Library reading room was equipped with bookcases with glass doors, providing two hundred and sixty-five feet of shelf space, and three walnut reading room tables with chairs to match. The bookcases were the gift of the Mennonite Historical Society, and the tables and chairs the gifts of friends of John E. Coffman, at

[30] Appendix I p. 313 in this issue of the *M.Q.R.* for the tabulation of holdings by date of publication and by special grouping within the collection.

[31] Personal interview with H. S. Bender.

[32] *Goshen College Record,* XXVIII:7 (April, 1927), 4; XXIX:9 (June, 1928), 16f.

[33] *Fiftieth Anniversary,* 54.

[34] H. S. Bender, "Inauguration of the Archives," *Mennonite Historical Bulletin,* I:2 (October, 1940).

that time Assistant Librarian of the Goshen College Library and in charge of the Mennonite Historical Library.

Within a few years after the Mennonite Historical Library had moved into its new quarters a large number of books had been accessioned and many volumes of periodicals had been bound. When the cases in the reading room proved inadequate to handle the collection, temporary shelving was provided, until the spring of 1951 when new closed cases to match those originally in the room were installed. The new cases came as a gift to the College from the graduating class of 1951 and provided more than three hundred feet of shelf space, more than doubling the total amount. As their gift, the Goshen College Biblical Seminary class of the same year presented an oak magazine rack for current issues of magazines received by the Mennonite Historical Library. These gifts did much to ease the situation and to improve the appearance of the reading room. The prospects are, however, that the new cases will be filled all too soon.

The Archives of the Mennonite Church permits the use of some of the space in its office and workroom by the Mennonite Historical Library. This room opens into both the Library reading room and the Archives stacks. Its equipment includes shelves and cabinets for storing uncataloged books, microfilms, unbound periodicals, and miscellaneous materials. The manuscript and certain other non-book holdings of the Library are stored in the Archives stacks, which are equipped with steel shelving, cardboard boxes of legal and letter sizes, approximately three inches deep, and a map cabinet.

The Mennonite Historical Library reading room had been reserved for research students until the fall of 1946. Because of the enlarged enrollment of the College, it was then opened during regular library hours as a freshman reserve room.[35] With the exception of summer months, use for this purpose continued for three years. In the fall of 1950, it was opened as a reading room during the evening hours and closed, except to research students, during the rest of the day.

### *Administration of the Collection*

From the time that the Alumni Association presented the Mennonite Historical Library to Goshen College in 1912, it has been a

[35] Neva White, *Annual Report of the Librarian to the President and the Library Committee of Goshen College,* August 15, 1947 (a manuscript in the files of the Goshen College Library, Goshen, Indiana).

special collection in the Goshen College Library, under the supervision of the regular librarian. During the late 1920's, the elected officers of the Mennonite Historical Society also included a librarian for the collection, with Ernst Correll first serving in that capacity.[36] It seems that the old lines of administration may not have been exactly clear during those years. The office of Librarian of the Society was soon discontinued, however, and the administration and processing of the collection have rested solely with the regular staff of the College Library. However, the Chairman of the Library Committee, H. S. Bender, who was also President of the Mennonite Historical Society, gave special attention to the Mennonite Historical Library and acted as the purchasing agent during all this time.[37]

It has been extremely difficult to attempt to trace the growth or the financial history of the collection from the annual reports of the librarian. Reports for the earlier years are not available. During the past ten years four different individuals have prepared the reports, and each in his own way. The items related to the Mennonite Historical Library are seldom isolated from other records. Nor is it clear that the College Library budget included special allocations for the Mennonite Historical Library before 1948-49, when there was a budget allocation of $450.00.[38] The following year the allocation was $350.00.[39] In both instances, allocations were for amounts above the donations of the Mennonite Historical Society.

Circulation was handled from the regular charging desk in the main reading room of the Library, until September, 1949, when a separate circulation file was established in the reading room of the Mennonite Historical Library. Since circulation figures are for one year only, and since they do not include the use of reserve books, they are of little significance in this study.

The greater part of the collection is open to free circulation and is not restricted to use by persons connected with Goshen College only. The books are available on interlibrary loan. However, exact policies regarding the use of very rare books have not yet been clearly defined. Manuscript materials are available for use only in the rooms which house the collection.

[36] *Maple Leaf*, XI (1926), 78.

[37] Personal interview with H. S. Bender.

[38] *Annual Report of the Librarian of Goshen College to the President and the Library Committee, 15 August 1949* (Manuscript).

[39] Neva White, *Annual Report of the Librarian to the President of Goshen College, August 15, 1950* (Manuscript).

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES

### The Holdings of the Mennonite Historical Library

*General Statement*

The holdings of the Mennonite Historical Library have been described in part in the article which describes the development of the collection.* To distinguish certain types of material into special displays, the collection has been subdivided according to several categories which are shelved separately. All books in the collection are marked with the letter "M" above the class number. Literature produced by European Mennonites and printed in Europe is marked "Me" as an exhibit of European Mennonite literature. Similarly, literature produced by American Mennonites and printed in America, with "Me" materials reprinted in America, is marked "Ma." All non-Mennonite pietistic literature used a great deal by Mennonites, including German translations of similar literature from the English (e.g., Bunyan), whether printed in Europe or America, is marked "Mn" as an exhibit of non-Mennonite materials. The term "literature" as used in the "Me" and "Ma" subdivisions, is defined to include: (1) confessions of faith, catechisms, and confessional literature; (2) prayer books and devotional literature; (3) hymnology; (4) sermons and related materials; (5) church manuals for worship and the use of ministers; (6) theological writings, excluding practical, historical, ethical, peace, missions, and similar specialized subjects; (7) Biblical expositions, etc. The John Horsch collection is marked "Mh." Folios and other large books, particularly Bibles and martyr books, form another group. The regular cataloging scheme holds within all of these subdivisions.[1] Appendix I is a tally of the holdings of the Library by these categories.

A tally of the holdings by classification number indicates several major groupings of subjects. Appendix II indicates subject categories in which there are more than fifty titles in the collection.

Bibliographies are essential to any special collection. In the field of American Mennonite literature (using the term in its broadest sense), the only authoritative bibliography is the one that, in a sense, has grown with the Mennonite Historical Library—H. S. Bender's *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature,* published by the Mennonite Historical Society in 1929. Several copies of the bibliography, interleaved with blank leaves, have served as constant tools in the office of the Library. As listed titles were added to the collection, notation was made in the margin. The blank interleaves have provided space for corrections and additional titles. Thus, these copies of the bibliography have served as check lists of the holdings of the Library. In 1949, Nelson Springer made a thorough check of the bibliography against the card catalogs of Goshen and Bethel Colleges and compiled a manuscript supplement of three hundred and twenty-three titles in addition to the 1,216 titles in the printed bibliography. Of these 1,539 titles, the Mennonite Historical Library has 1,269, or 82 per cent. Of the remaining two hundred and seventy titles, eighty-six are serials. The Mennonite Historical Library has partial files of varying degrees of completeness of thirty-five of these eighty-six serials.

* "The Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College," pp. 296-306 in this issue.

[1] Manuscript staff memo in the Goshen College Library office.

In 1929 the Mennonite Publishing House published a catalog of its historical collection.[2] Since the transfer of the John Horsch collection to Goshen, this catalog no longer represents the holdings at Scottdale, but one may safely assume that the Mennonite Historical Library has all of the titles listed there, with few exceptions.

The most comprehensive bibliography of Mennonite materials that has ever been published is to be found in the catalog of the Library of the United Mennonite Congregation of Amsterdam.[3] In 1950, Albertina van der Laag of Amsterdam, a student in the Goshen College Biblical Seminary, prepared an alphabetical index to this catalog.[4] The *Catalogus* lists over 3,840 titles. Only four hundred of the titles, or 10.6 per cent of the total are among the cataloged holdings of the Mennonite Historical Library. Interestingly, nearly two hundred Dutch titles published before 1919, but not listed in the *Catalogus,* are to be found at Goshen. There are other bibliographies, general and specialized, that throw light on Mennonite and Anabaptist history.

From time to time the Mennonite Historical Library has prepared check lists of its holdings within subject, language, or regional groupings, but none of these lists have been published. The Mennonite Historical Society has long planned to publish a classed catalog of the Library, but has not done so to date. Appendix IV is a check list of titles in the collection published before 1600.

### *The John Horsch Collection*

Until the transfer of the John Horsch collection from the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, Pennsylvania, to the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College, the former was the stronger of the two collections. For many years John Horsch had been considered the best authority in the Mennonite Church in America on the Anabaptist phase of its history. From 1887 to 1895 he was associated with the Mennonite Publishing Company in Elkhart, Indiana, doing editorial work on German periodicals published there. During this period he collected a rather large library of early Anabaptist history. When Horsch left Elkhart, he sold the collection to John F. Funk, head of the Company. In 1908 he joined the staff of the newly established Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, continuing there until his death in 1941. The House not only gave him time for research and writing in Mennonite history and theology, but made appropriations which enabled him to build up a Mennonite Historical Library there, including the repurchase of many of the books he had sold to Funk in 1895. The collection was unusually rich in materials dealing with Reformation history. Further, Horsch had prepared many notebooks and scrapbooks in his years of research. In his introduction to the 1929 catalog of this collection, Horsch states that it consisted of "more than three thousand books, pamphlets, manuscripts, photostatic reproductions, written copies of source material, articles taken from magazines and pa-

[2] Mennonite Publishing House, *Catalogue of the Mennonite Historical Library in Scottdale, Pennsylvania* (Scottdale: 1929).

[3] *Catalogus der Werken over de Doopsgezinden en Hunne Geschiedenis Aanwezig in de Bibliotheek der Vereenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: J. H. de Bussy, 1919).

[4] Albertina van der Laag, *Index to the Mennonitica in the 1919 Catalog of the Library of the Amsterdam United Mennonite Church* (Goshen, Indiana: Mennonite Historical Society, 1950) (Mimeographed).

pers, etc."[5] Parts of the collection had come from Horsch's own private library, from the libraries of J. Honig of Balk, Holland, and of the Mennonite editors, Samuel Baehler of Switzerland, Ulrich Hege of South Germany, and John F. Funk of Elkhart, Indiana.

When Edward Yoder was appointed Assistant Librarian at Scottdale shortly before Horsch's death, the collection was unclassified. Yoder, writing to John Coffman at Goshen, said that they had decided to classify it according to the system used at Goshen. He also asked for a set of the catalog cards of the collection at Goshen, so that they could build a union catalog at Scottdale, representing the two collections.[6] The Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College has continued to supply the Scottdale Library with copies of their main entry cards, but it has never attempted to maintain a catalog of the holdings at Scottdale.

With the death of Horsch, the question arose as to whether the Mennonite Publishing House should continue to hold a library of rare materials when the center of research had shifted from there to Goshen College. It was decided to send some of the books to Goshen, but the matter of the final transfer remained unsettled while Edward Yoder still lived. Although Yoder was not primarily a historian, he was a distinguished scholar, able to work in a number of languages. His life was cut short with his early death March 28, 1945. The collection was still uncataloged, and there had been no decision as to which materials should be retained at Scottdale and which transferred to Goshen. In a period of uncertainty as to who would succeed Yoder, the management of the House felt it unwise to come to a definite decision in regard to the matter immediately.[7] Eventually, it was decided that all titles other than English should be sent to Goshen. In return, the Mennonite Historical Society at Goshen agreed to furnish certain types of materials from among its duplicate holdings.[8]

In the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen these books constitute the "John Horsch Collection"—a memorial to the scholar who had brought them together. One hundred and two of its eight hundred and sixty-one volumes bear publication dates of 1800 or earlier.

The papers of John Horsch, consisting of correspondence, clippings, research notes, and memoranda, are now also the property of the Mennonite Historical Library and are stored in the adjoining Archives of the Mennonite Church.

*Rare Books*

It would be impracticable to list all of the rare books in the Mennonite Historical Library in this paper. For one thing, the library has not established clear-cut categories for determining which books in its collection are "rare," and which are not. A tally of holdings indicates that slightly more than 800 volumes, or approximately 14 per cent of the total, may be considered rare by imprint date alone. The mere fact that a book appeared before a certain date, of course, does not make the book particularly valuable. Surveying the list of titles published before 1700 which is appended to this article, one discovers that it includes protocols of disputations between

[5] Mennonite Publishing House, *Catalogue of the Mennonite Historical Library*, p. (5).

[6] Letter from Edward Yoder, Assistant Librarian, Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, to John Coffman, August 30, 1940.

[7] Letter from A. J. Metzler, General Manager, Mennonite Publishing House, to Harold S. Bender, May 10, 1945.

[8] Personal interview with H. S. Bender.

Anabaptists and representatives of the State churches, tracts, polemical writings, hymnbooks, martyr books, Bibles, and general church histories—all valuable to the student of Reformation history.

Of the American imprints in the collection, one of the most worthy of note is a volume, containing, bound together: *Ein geistliches Magazien,* volumes I and II, 1764 to 1772; *Zeugnis der Wahrheit, oder eines Christen Gedancken von der vergangenen und von der kuenfftigen Reformation,* 1763; and the second edition of Christopher Dock's *Schulordnung,* 1770. All are from the press of Christoph Saur at Germantown, Pennsylvania. The first and last of the three titles are particularly rare. Another item of interest is the Mennonite confession of faith in English printed by Andrew Bradford of Philadelphia in 1727.

To complete this listing of part of the treasures in the Mennonite Historical Library, one might note a German edition of Josephus, printed at Strassburg by Samuel Emmel in 1561. It is a folio volume of 1,054 pages with its original binding—a fine specimen of the bookbinder's art with blind stamping done with plate, part, and roller stamps, and blind tools.

Many of these rare items have been described in greater detail by H. S. Bender, Robert Friedmann, J. C. Wenger, and Edward Yoder in articles in *The American-German Review, The Mennonite Historical Bulletin,* and *The Mennonite Quarterly Review.*

### *Serials*

The Mennonite Historical Library is currently receiving more than two hundred serials, of which one hundred and sixty-five are gifts of the publishers and forty are received by the Mennonite Historical Society as exchanges with *The Mennonite Quarterly Review.*[9] Of the total number, one hundred and ninety are Mennonite publications. The remaining ones are published by related groups, or frequently contain items of significance to Mennonite and Anabaptist historical research. Over 3,200 bound serial volumes are shelved alphabetically by title on open shelves in the reading room. Some have been classified, and some have not, but title cards, with holdings indicated, have been filed in the card catalog. Tallied by type of serial, they include:

| Type | Titles | Volumes |
|---|---|---|
| Periodicals, Mennonite | 76 | 1,463 |
| Periodicals, Non-Mennonite | 21 | 235 |
| Annual reports, Mennonite | 36 | 519 |
| Annual reports, Non-Mennonite | 2 | 78 |
| Yearbooks, Mennonite | 24 | 258 |
| Yearbooks, Non-Mennonite | 2 | 11 |
| Almanacs, Mennonite | 6 | 292 |
| Almanacs, Non-Mennonite | 2 | 14 |
| College Catalogs | 9 | 260 |
| School yearbooks | 18 | 128 |
| Totals | 196 | 3,258 |

In addition, there are many unbound and incomplete files, bringing the total serial holdings to over five hundred and sixty titles, of which about

[9] The Mennonite Historical Society receives an additional twenty-four exchanges, which are not related to the study of Mennonite and Anabaptist history and are accessioned into the regular library of Goshen College.

one fifth are non-Mennonite. The bound periodicals include nearly complete files of the eighteen most important Mennonite periodicals—the official organs of the various Mennonite branches in America, and the outstanding Mennonite periodicals published in Europe. Among the annual reports are nearly complete files of the proceedings of twenty-one Mennonite church conferences. The unbound serials are arranged alphabetically by title in boxes and stored in the office. There is an inventory on cards, showing which issues are in the Library. Included among these unbound materials are nearly complete files of the mimeographed bulletins of ninety-four Civilian Public Service camps, twenty-one bulletins issued by the Mennonite Central Committee, nine bulletins issued by the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, and other mimeographed and printed materials relating to conscientious objectors in World War II.

### *Theses, Seminars, Term Papers, Peace Orations and Other Manuscript Studies*

Aside from major holdings of books, pamphlets, and serials, the Mennonite Historical Library has smaller holdings of unpublished studies of varying levels of scholarliness, but still of value to historical research. Indicative of the growing emphasis on the study of Mennonite history in the curriculum of the College and Seminary is a collection of term papers, seminars, peace orations, and other manuscript historical and doctrinal studies, now over 300 in number.[10]

Of more significance are the typewritten copies of dissertations that have never been published. These have been bound and have been cataloged just like any printed book in the collection. The library is fortunate in having dissertations of this sort in that Goshen College grants no degrees above the baccalaureate level. Some dissertations represent the work of scholars at American schools, some of scholars in Europe. On a similar level is a typewritten manuscript by Edward Yoder: "Epistolae Grebelianae, 1517-1535." Transcribed and translated into English by Edward Yoder, the letters of Conrad Grebel, founder of the Swiss Brethren, form a prime source of information regarding the establishment of Anabaptism in Switzerland. The Mennonite Historical Society plans to publish them as a companion volume to the seventh in its series of monographs: *Conrad Grebel, 1498-1526, Founder of the Swiss Brethren,* by H. S. Bender, published in 1950.[11]

### *Fugitive Materials*

The Library has a variety of other materials of value to historical research, but fugitive in the sense that they are as yet poorly organized. Lack of organization makes them particularly difficult to describe or to evaluate. This is particularly true of photographic reproductions in the collection. Photostats and photocopies include reproductions of documents and printed materials to be found only in European collections, particularly the libraries and archives of Bern and Zurich, Switzerland. Among the letters by Conrad Grebel transcribed by Edward Yoder were nine ad-

[10] The collection of peace orations represents one of the historic principles of the Mennonite Church—the doctrine of Christian love. It also represents the traditional annual peace oratorical contests of the College. Goshen College took the lead in the organization of the Intercollegiate Peace Association in June, 1904, now national in scope.

[11] The series is entitled, "Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History." It is described later in this paper.

dressed to Oswald Myconius, friend of Ulrich Zwingli, dated 1519-1521. The Library has photostats of those nine letters.[12] Before World War II, the Heubuden Mennonite Church near Marienburg in East Prussia owned a codex containing many documents in sixteenth-century Dutch, including a copy of the confession of faith by Obbe Philips, early Dutch Anabaptist. The congregation was scattered during the war, and most of its library was destroyed. Fortunately, the Mennonite Historical Library has a copy of this codex.[13]

Although the Library has no microfilming facilities of its own, it attempts to supplement its collection with microfilms of more extensive items which are not available in printed or manuscript form. The small collection of thirty-two films includes dissertations, archival materials, and church records. Two interesting films of approximately 800 exposures each reproduce the church records of the Alexanderwohl Mennonite congregation from West Prussia in the eighteenth century, through the first three quarters of the nineteenth century in southern Russia, to a settlement near Goessel, Kansas, in the 1870's, where it now has a membership of over 1,000. Before the recent war, Lydia Müller prepared a two-volume edition of Hutterite texts, *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter,* the first volume of which was published at Leipzig in 1938. The Library has a microfilm of the manuscript of the second volume, which has not yet been published.[14] There is also a microfilm of the manuscript of the volume of Anabaptist documents for Alsace prepared by Karl Adam. The Archives of the Ontario Mennonite Conference, on deposit in the vault of the Golden Rule Book Store, Kitchener, Ontario, have been microfilmed for the Library. They include conference reports and the correspondence of early conference leaders. In 1948, the Mennonite Historical Society of Goshen College, and the Historical Committee of the General Conference of Mennonites, North Newton, Kansas, arranged conjointly for the microfilming of significant manuscript items in the Mennonite Archives at Amsterdam, as well as some of the rare books in the Library of the United Mennonite Church there. The thirty films of 800 exposures each have not been edited as yet. It is planned that positive copies will be made and deposited in both the Library at Goshen and that at North Newton.[15] The Mennonite Historical Library has two microfilm readers—a new Recordak model and an old Argus model.

Ordinary photographs in the collection center largely around the Elkhart Institute; the early history of Goshen College; relief activities in India at the close of the nineteenth century, from which the American Mennonite Mission in India developed; portrait photographs of Mennonite leaders; and photographs which form parts of collections of historical papers deposited in the Archives of the Mennonite Church.

There are two collections of slides on Mennonite history, one with an accompanying syllabus, and a collection of slides of earthquake ruins and famine conditions in India in the 1890's.

[12] Edward Yoder, "Nine Letters of Conrad Grebel," *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* II (October, 1928), 229-259.

[13] Leonard Verduin, "An Ancient Version of Obbe Philips' Confession," *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XXI (April, 1947), 120ff.

[14] Robert Friedmann, "A Comprehensive Review of Research on the Hutterites, 1880-1950," *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XIV (October, 1950), 355.

[15] See Jacob G. de Hoop Scheffer, ed., *Inventaris der Archiefstukken berustende bij de Vereenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: C. A. Spin & Zoon, 1883-84), for the holdings of the Amsterdam Archives.

The Library has an extensive collection of engraved portraits of early Mennonite leaders in Holland, all the known prints of Menno Simons, including one color print, and a few other prints and original paintings.

From the early Mennonites in America, there is a photostat of a broadside protest of the Mennonites against slavery, dated 1688.

Additional materials include nearly one hundred and thirty printed and manuscript maps; large charts of the "Mennonite Family Tree," tracing the development and interrelations of the present Mennonite branches; charts prepared by a Mennonite minister for use in his Bible conference work in the early 1900's; charts prepared as part of seminar studies by students in the Goshen College Biblical Seminary; broadsides published by Mennonites, largely during the nineteenth century; and a small collection of museum items, especially costume items. The Library has only one small showcase for display purposes and limited storage space, so that it has not pushed the building of a museum collection.

—*Nelson Springer*

## Appendix I

### TALLY OF HOLDINGS OF THE MENNONITE HISTORICAL LIBRARY BY DATE OF PUBLICATION AND SPECIAL GROUPINGS

| Group | Up to 1700 | 1701-1800 | 1801-1900 | 1901-present | Date unknown | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Regular | 43 | 59 | 862 | 1871 | 60 | 2895 |
| American Mennonite Literature | | 24 | 250 | 110 | 9 | 393 |
| European Mennonite Literature | 106 | 85 | 86 | 15 | 6 | 298 |
| Non-Mennonite Literature | 21 | 104 | 130 | 8 | 5 | 268 |
| John Horsch Collection | 43 | 59 | 367 | 374 | 18 | 861 |
| Folios | 27 | 31 | 23 | 6 | | 87 |
| Total Cataloged Volumes | 240 | 362 | 1718 | 2384 | 98 | 4802 |
| Uncataloged Volumes | 73 | 37 | 285 | 989 | 63 | 1447 |
| Total | 313 | 399 | 2003 | 3373 | 161 | 6249 |

## Appendix II

### HOLDINGS IN THE COLLECTION PUBLISHED IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

1521 Hugvaldus, Uldricus. *Ad sanctam Tigurinam ecclesiam epistola.* n.p.: (1521)

1522 Vadian, Joachim. *Pomponii Melae de orbis situ libri tres* . . . . Basel: 1522.

—— Zwingli, Ulrich. *Apologeticus Archeteles* . . . . Zürich: 1522.

1523 Hätzer, Ludwig. *Ein Urteil Gottes unsers Eegemahels/ wie man sich mit allem Götzen vnd Bildnussen halten sol.* Zürich: 1523.

1524 *Entschuldigung Johannis Spitelmayer Prediger zu Nicolspurg, von wegen etlicher Artickeln, ime von dem Clöster d'stat Veldsperg sundlich Feindt des Creutz Christi, an alle Ursach zuegemessen.* n.p.: 1524.

1524-29 *Bible.* German. Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1524-29. (No inclusive title page; separate title pages for each of four parts of the Old Testament, for the Apocrypha, and for the New Testament.)

*1525 Hubmaier, Balthasar. *Von dem Christenlichen Tauff der Gläubigen.* n.p. n.d. Ms. copy made by John Horsch.

*—— Oecolampadius, Johannes. *Ain Gespräch etlicher Predicanten zu Basel gehalten mit etlichen Bekennern des Wydertauffs.* M.D.XXV. Ms. copy made by John Horsch.

1526 *Ausz was Grund die Lieb entspringt/vnd was grosser Krafft sy hab/ vnd wie nutz sy sey/ den innerlichen Menschen zu reformieren/ das der eüsserliche Sterb . . . .* Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1526. (Preface by Sigmund Salminger.)

*—— *Ein gesprech Balthasar Hübmörs von Fridberg Doctors auf Mayster Ulrichs Zwinglens zu Zürich Tauffbuchlen von dem Kindertauff.* Nicolsburg, 1526. Ms. copy made by John Horsch.

—— Hätzer, Ludwig, tr. *Der prophet Maleachi mit auszlegung Joan. Ecolampadij, durch jn im latein beschriben, mit fleys verdeütscht durch Ludwig Hätzer.* Basel: Thomas Wolff, 1526.

*—— Hubmaier, Balthasar. *Ein kurtze entschuldigung D. Huebmors von fridberg an alle Christglaubige menschen das sy sich an den erdichtenn vnnwarhhayten so im sein misgönner zu legen nit ergern.* Nicolspurg: 1526. Photostatic reproduction.

—— Oecolampadius, Johannes. *In Epistolam B. Pauli Apost. ad Rhomanos.* Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1526.

—— Zwingli, Ulrich. *Von warem und valschen Glouben.* Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1526.

1527 Bader, Joannes. Bruederliche warnung für dem newen abgöttischen *Orden der Widertäuffer. . . .* n.p: 1527.

*—— Denk, Hans. *Wer die Warhait warlich lieb hat.* n.p. n.d. Photostatic reproduction of the Vienna copy.

*—— *Ein gesprech der Predicanten zu Basel und Balthasaren Huebmörs von Fridberg von dem Khindertauff.* Nicolspurg, 1527, Ms. copy made by John Horsch.

—— *Grundtliche Vnterrichtung eins erbern Rats der Statt Nürmberg/ welcher Gestalt/ Jre Pfarrher vn Prediger in den Stetten vn auff dem Land/ das Volck/ wider etliche verfürische Lere der Widertauff/ in jren Predigen auss heyliger Göttlicher Schrifft/ zum getreülichste ermannen vnterrichten sollen.* Nuremberg: Jobst Gutknecht, 1527 (?)

—— Langenmantel, Eitelhans. *Ein Göttlich vnnd grundtlich Offenbarung; von warhafftigen wiederteufferen; mit Göttlicher Warhait angezeigt.* n.p.: 1527.

—— Melanchton, Philipp. *Verlegung etlicher unchristlicher Artikel: Welche die Widerteuffer furgeben.* Wittemberg: Georg Rhaw (1527)

* Photostatic or manuscript reproduction of a printed original.

—— Oecolampadius, Johannes. *Underrichtung von dem Widertauff/ von der Oberkeit/ vnd von dem Eyd/ auff Carlins N. Widertauffers Artickel. Antwort auff Balthasar Huobmeiers Büchlein wider der Predicanten gespräch zuo Basel/ von dem Kindertauff. Basel:* Andreas Cratander, 1527.

—— Rhegius, Urbanus. *Wider den newen Taufforden/ notwendige Warnung an alle Christgleubigen durch die diener des Euangelii zu Augspurg.* Augsburg, 1527.

1528? *Bible.* New Testament. German. Switzerland.

—— Faber, Johann. *Adversus Doctorem Balthasarum Pacimontanum, Anabaptistarum nostri saeculi primum Authorem, orthodoxae Fidei Catholica Defensio . . .* (Leipzig: 1528).

—— *Mandate* of King Ferdinand I of Austria against the Anabaptists, Feb. 24, 1528.

—— *Mandate* of King Ferdinand I of Austria against the Anabaptists, April 1, 1528.

—— Link, W. *Grundtliche vntterrichtung eins erbern Rats der Statt Nürmberg. . . .* Nuremberg: (1528?) (This is definitely a different edition of the same title supposedly published in 1527.)

—— Luther, Martin. *Von der Widertauffe an zwen Pfarherrn ein brief.* Wittemberg: 1528.

—— Melanchthon, Philipp. *Wider die Lere der Widerteuffer.* Wittemberg: 1528.

—— *Die Predigen so von den froembden Predicanten/ die allenthalben haer/ zuo Bernn vff dem Gespraech oder Disputation gewesen/ beschehen sind. Verwerffen der Artiklenn vnd Stucken/ so die Widertouffer vff dem Gespraech zuo Bernn/ vor ersamen grossen Radt fuergewendt habend.* Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1528.

1530 Bugenhagen, Joh. *Bekantnus von seinem glauben und lere geschriben an einen Widertauffer.* Wittemberg, 1530.

—— Entfelder, Christian. *Von den Manigfaltigen im glauben Zerspaltungen dise Jar erstanden. Inn sonderheit von der Tauffspaltung vnd jrem Vrtail/ Ain Bedacht. Strassburg: 1530.*

—— *Egesippi Historiographi.* Colonia: Johannes Soter 1530. Bound with *Chronica,* 1545.

—— Menius, Justus. *Der Widder-tauffer Lere vnd Geheimnis aus heiliger Schrifft widderlegt/ Mit einen schönen Vorrede Martin Luther.* Wittemberg: 1530.

—— *Mandate* of King Ferdinand I of Austria against the Anabaptists, March 2, 1530.

1531 *Die gantze Bibel der vrsprünglichen Ebraischen vnd Griechischen waarheyt nach auffs aller treuwlichest verteütschet.* Zürich: Christoffel Froschouer, M.D.D.XXXI.

—— Bullinger, Heinrich. *Von dem vnuerschampten Fraefel/ ergerlichem Verwyrren/ vnnd vnwarhafften Leeren der Selbsgesandten Widertoeffern. . . . Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1531.*

—— *Ein Christenlich Gespräch gehallten zuo Bern zwüschen den Predicanten und Hansen Pfyster Mayer von Arouw/ den Widertouff/ Eyd/ Oberkeyt/ vnd andere Widertoufferische Artickel betreffende.* (Bern): 1531.

—— Franck, Sebastian. *Chronica, Zeytbuch vnd Geschycht Bibel von*

*Anbegyn bisz inn disz Gegenwertig M. D. xxxj. Jar.* . . . . Straszburg: Balthasar Beck, 1531.

1532 *Handlung oder Acta der Disputation gehalten zu Zoffingen in Aargaw, von den Predigern zu Bern mit den Widertauffern.' Im Jar M. D. XXXII im Julio.* Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1532.

1533 Butzer, Martin. *Handlung inn dem offentlichen Gesprech zuo Straszburg iüngst imb Synodo gehalten gegen Melchior Hoffman.* Strassburg: Mathias Apiarius, 1533.

1534 *Bibel Teütsch auffs allertreuwlichest verdolmetschet.* Zurich: Christoffel Froschouer, M.D.XXXIV (Title supplied.)

1535 Melanchthon, Philipp. *Etliche Propositiones wider die Lehr der Widerteuffer.* Wittemberg: Georg Rhaw, 1535.

—— Rhegius, Urbanus. *Widderlegung der Münsterischen newen Valentinianer vnd Donatisten bekentnus/ an die Christen zu Osnabrugk/ jnn Westfalen/* Wittemberg: 1535.

1536 *Die gantze Bibel, das ist alle bücher allts vnnd neüws Testaments, den vrsprünglichen spraachen nach, auffs aller treüwlichest verteütschet.* . . . Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1536.

—— *Gespreche vnd disputation Antonii Coruini vnd Joannis Kymei/ mit dem Münsterschen König/ mit Knipperdölling vnd Krechting ehe dann sie gerechtfertigt worden sein/ gehalten im Jener/ Anno M. D. xxxv.* Wittemberg: Georg Rhaw (1536 ? ).

—— Melanchthon, Philipp. *Adversus anabaptistis judicium. Item an magistratus jure possit occidere anabaptistas Johannis Brentii sententia.* . . . Wittemberg: 1536.

—— Melanchthon, Philipp. *Das weltliche Oberkeit den Widerteuffern mit leiblicher straffe zu wehren schuldig sey/ Etlicher bedencken.* Wittemberg, 1536.

1537 Kymeus, Johann. *Ein alt christlich Concilium fur zwelff hundert jaren zu Gangra jnn Paphlagonia halten wider die hoch genante heiligkeit der Möchen vnd Widerteuffer.* . . . Wittemberg, 1537.

1539 Franck, Sebastian. *Das verbüthschiert mit siben Sigeln verschlossen Buch/ das recht niemandt auffthun/ oder lesen kan/ dann das Lamb/ vnd die mit dem Thaw bezaichnet/ das Lamb angehören/ sampt einer Vorred von den siben Sigeln/ was die seyen/ vnd wie die auffthon werden.* . . . n.p.: 1539.

*—— Menno Simons. *Dat Fundament des Christelycken Leers, door Menno Simons op dat alder corste geschreuen.* Anno. M.D. XXXIX. Photostatic reproduction from the cpoy in the Royal Library in the Hague.

1540 Joris, David. *Hoe sich die gelouighe, die een suster ofte vrouwe tot hem neempt/ draghen of sy beyde haer tegen den ander hebben sullen.* . . (Deventer: *ca.* 1540).

*1542 (Marpeck, Pilgram) *Vermanung auch ganz klarer gründtlicher und unwidersprechlicher bericht.* . . . . n.p. n.d. Photostatic reproduction of the British Museum copy.

1544 Menius, Justus. *Von dem Geist der Wiedertäufer.* Wittemberg: Pickel Schirlentz, 1544.

1545 *Chronica der alten christlichen Kirchen.* Straszburg: Wolff Köphlin, 1545. Bound with it is *Egesippi Historiographi.* . . . . Colonia: Iohannes Soter, 1530.

1549 Duncanus, Martinus. *Anabaptisticae Haereseos Confutatio, et vere Christiana Baptismi.* . . . Antwerp: Iohannes Grauius, 1549.

1550 Faber, Johann. *Christenliche vndterweisung an die Widertauffer von dem Tauff der Jungen Kindlein.* . . . Ingolstat: Alexander vnd Samuel Weissenhorn, 1550. Bound with it is the next item.

—— Faber, Johann. *Von dem Ayd schwören. Auch von der Widertauffer Marter und wo her entspring/ das sie also frölich unnd getröst die peyn des tods leyden. Und von der gemainschafft der Wiedertauffer.* n.p.: 1550.

1551 Menius, Justus. *Von den Blutfreunden aus der Widertauff.* Erfurt: Geruasius Sthürmer, 1551.

—— (Joris, David) *'t Wonder-boecks waer in dat van der VVerldt aen versloten gheopenbaert is.* . . . n.p.: 1551.

1556 Menno Simons. *Vant rechte Christen Gheloove.* . . . n.p.: 1556.

1557 Bullinger, Heinrich. *Die Offenbarung Jesu Christi.* . . . Müllhausen: 1558. Bound with it is the next item.

—— Franck, Sebastian: *Die Guldin Arch.* . . . Bern: Samuel Apiario, 1557.

1558 Franck, Sebastian. *Chronica, Tytboeck en Gheschiet bibel, van aenbegin tot in dit teghenwoordich M. D. XXXVJ Jaer verlengt.* . . . n.p.: 1558. (3 volumes in one)

—— *Mandate* of Duke Christoff of Württemberg against the Anabaptists, June 25, 1558.

1559 *Dauid Georgen ausz Holand desz Ertzkätzers warhafftige Histori/ seines Lebens/ unnd Verfürkumen/ doselbsz geläbt/ und wasz sich nach seinem Absterben mitt jm/ und seinen Verwandten alda verlossen hat.* Basel: 1559.

—— *Confutationes Widerlegungen und Verdamnung etlicher ein Zeit her zu wider demselben Gottes Wort/ und heiliger Schrifft/ auch der Augspurgische Confession Apologien/ und den Schmalkaldischen Artikeln/ aber zu Fürderun und Wideranrichtung des Antichristischen Papstuums eingeschlichenen/ und eingerissenen Corruptelen/ Secten und Irrthumen.* . . . Jena: Christian Rödingers Erben, 1559.

1560. *Bible. New Testament.* German. Zürich: Thobias Gessner, 1560.

1561 Bullinger, Heinrich. *Der Widertoeufferen vrsprung/ Fürgang/ Secten/ Waesen/ Fürnemen vnd Gemeine jrer leer Artickel/ ouch jre Gründ/ vnd warumb sy sich absünderind/ vnnd ein eigne Kirchen anrichtind.* . . . Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1561.

—— Josephus, Flavius. *Flauij Josephi vom krieg der Juden/ unnd Zerstörung Hierusalem.* . . . Strassburg: Samuel Emmel, 1561.

1564 *Etliche schöne christliche Geseng/ wie sie in der Gefengknisz zu Passaw im Schlosz von den Schweitzer Brüdern durch Gottes gnad geticht und gesungen worden.* n.p.: 1564. (This is the first edition of the second portion of the *Ausbund*—the hymnal still used by the Old Order Amish in their weekly services.)

—— Philips, Dirk. *Enchiridion oft Handboecxken van de christelijcke Leere ende Religion.* . . . n.p.: 1564.

—— Schwenckfeld, Caspar. *Der erste Theil der christlichen orthodoxischen Bücher vnd Schriften/ des edlen . . . Manns/ Caspar Schwenckfeld vom Haus Ossing.* . . . . n.p.: 1564.

1565 Menno Simons. *Fundamentum, een Fondament ende clare Aenwijsinge van de salichmakende Leere Jesu Christi wt Gods Woort int corte Begrepen.* . . . n.p.: 1565.

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*Joseph E. Ramseyer—"Yet Speaking."* By Macy Garth Ramseyer (Mrs. J. E. Ramseyer). With portrait, illustrations, and map. The Fort Wayne Bible Institute, Fort Wayne, Indiana (1945). Pp. 293. $2.00.

This biography of J. E. Ramseyer (1870-1944), the founder and chief leader of the Missionary Church Association, by his wife, though not a well-integrated scholarly production and more a personal memoir, is nevertheless of genuine value to the understanding of the history of the M.C.A. and of the Fort Wayne Bible Institute (College) which Ramseyer also founded and of which he was superintendent or president (1923 on) until his death. It is naturally written, with warm appreciation and participation, and is an inspiring story. All the essential information in it was of course assimilated into the history of the M.C.A. by Lugibihl and Gerig.

The book is divided into four parts. Part One (pp. 17-70), headed, "A Corn of Wheat," tells the story of Ramseyer's early life and his earliest revival ministry down to 1901. Part Two, headed, "A Grain of Mustard Seed," after giving Ramseyer's own account of the origin of the M.C.A., gives the story of the Fort Wayne Bible Institute, and follows with a running account of the evangelistic tours and campaigns as well as general travels and church administrative work in which Mrs. Ramseyer was the constant and intimate companion of her husband. Part Three (107-270), headed, "Joseph E. Ramseyer 'Yet Speaking' Through His sermons," is valuable in testifying both to the spirit and the theology of Ramseyer the preacher. It contains a selection of longer and shorter sermons and addresses, and even "sayings." The rest of the book is a miscellany including "The Last Eight Days" (pp. 257-263) by Mrs. Ramseyer, "The Funeral" (pp. 267-270) by J. G. Garth, and "Letters of Appreciation" (pp. 273-293) where are testimonials to the impact of Ramseyer upon his relatives and co-workers.

J. E. Ramseyer came from a very conservative Amish Mennonite family in the Alsatian-Bavarian Amish settlement near New Hamburg, Waterloo County, Ontario, but he moved far from this background. He might have rendered a great service to his own people if he had remained in the Amish Mennonite Church or even in the Defenseless Mennonite Church which he later joined. He was almost singlehandedly responsible for the schism which rent the Defenseless Mennonite Church in two and over points in theology and emphasis which seem minor. Should he have done so? Was it the drive for personal dominance which led him to do so or was it the only way he could unfold his gifts freely and render the best service to the cause of Christ? The fruit of the splendid work of the Missionary Church Association and the Fort Wayne Bible Institute would suggest that the two successive separtions from the groups to which he once belonged were justified. Yet one must still wonder. When is a schism justified?

*Goshen College* Harold S. Bender.

*The Missionary Church Association: Historical Account of its Origin and Development.* By Walter H. Lugibihl and Jared F. Gerig. Fort Wayne, Indiana: Missionary Church Association, 1950 Pp. 164. Illustrations. $2.00.

In 1693 the Amish separated from the Mennonite Church. In 1864 Henry Egly of Adams County, Indiana, led a group away from the Amish. These, known for some years as the Egly Amish, became the Defenseless

Mennonite Church but more recently have been named the Evangelical Mennonite Conference. In the eighteen-nineties certain leaders within the Defenseless Mennonites began teaching that a second work of grace subsequent to salvation was essential for victorious Christian living. The differing points of view concerning sanctification stressed by these leaders led to the withdrawal of certain congregations and ministers from the Defenseless Mennonite Church which then organized the Missionary Church Association in August, 1898.

After fifty years the M.C.A. has seventy-one organized and twelve unorganized congregations in Arizona, Arkansas, California, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Nebraska, Missouri, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Hawaii. Stressing foreign missions, the denomination has a foreign missionary corps of seventy-six missionaries, of whom fifty-six are being supported directly by the M.C.A. The official church organ is the *Missionary Worker,* published at Berne, Indiana. They have no church institutions, although the Fort Wayne Bible Institute now Fort Wayne Bible College, from its very beginning an interdenominational project, was largely founded and operated by the M.C.A. One fourth of the book is devoted to the beginnings and development of this institution.

The most influential leader of the denomination was J. E. Ramseyer, whose biography is given in some detail, as well as a chapter entitled "A Memorial to Rev. J. E. Ramseyer." He was associated with the Fort Wayne Bible Institute from its founding in 1904 to his death in 1944. Other influential leaders whose biographies are presented include A. E. Funk, J. A. Sprunger, Mr. and Mrs. B. P. Lugibihl, Daniel Y. Schultz, David Roth, William Egle, and Henry Roth.

The chapter on "Doctrinal Development and Difficulties" explains that this church has always emphasized the "fourfold Gospel," which is described as the presentation of Jesus Christ as "Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer, and coming King." This is interpreted as including the concept of the second work of grace, divine healing of the human body, and Christ reigning on the earth during a thousand-year millennium. The doctrine of sanctification has been a point of major emphasis, giving occasion to a schism after 1923 when some brethren advocated the view that there can be a progressive sanctification instead of only a crisis experience. The conference, however, went on record favoring the earlier view of the crisis experience, although according to the authors an attempt was made to state the point of view in moderate language. The resolution, however, did not prevent several influential ministers and several congregations from severing their connections with the conference.

The Missionary Church Association teaches against secret society membership, the use of the oath, and against the tobacco and strong drink habit. It practices baptism by immersion and the Lord's supper but has dropped foot washing. Although the denomination regards itself as being one of the "peace churches" and is affiliated on an associate basis with the Mennonite Central Committee, most of its members during World War II who had a conscience against participation in war entered the armed services as noncombatants instead of entering civilian public service camps. S. A. Witmer, the present president of Fort Wayne Bible College, served as chaplain in the army during the second World War.

In recent years, the Missionary Church Association has made overtures to other Mennonite groups for a program of union. There have

been meetings with both the Mennonite Brethren in Christ and the Evangelical Mennonites but to date a basis of co-operation has not been achieved.

Thirty-three illustrations, mostly of church leaders and conference groups, are scattered through the book. A list of congregations with the date of organization, the name of the first pastor, and the name of the present pastor is a useful feature of the book. An index and a bibliography would have increased the usefulness of the volume. This book will be welcomed by all students of Mennonite history who are attempting to get a complete picture of all the movements and schisms in the denomination. It is a pioneer work which attempts to give the chief facts concerning the origin and development of this denomination; written by the leaders of this church, it is an appreciative rather than a critical account. It remains for other scholars to write an interpretative history of this movement, in which there will be a frank discussion of shifts in emphasis and of the dropping of earlier practices.

*Mennonite Research Foundation* Melvin Gingerich

*The Cost of Discipleship.* By Dietrich Bonhoeffer. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. Pp. 198. $2.50. Translated from the German by R. H. Fuller.

This book is a challenging treatment of Christian discipleship, its basis and its meaning. In Part One the author discusses "Grace and Discipleship." Part Two is a searching treatment of the "Sermon on the Mount." The author concludes with a discourse on "The Church of Jesus Christ and the Life of Discipleship." An important contribution to the book is Leibholz's excellent memoir of the author.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer was born in Breslau, Germany, in 1906. After receiving his formal education at the University of Tübingen, Berlin University, and Union Theological Seminary in New York, he became a lecturer in Systematic Theology at Berlin University in 1930. He was one of the first to see the real issues at stake as National Socialism spread its darkening shadow over Germany. He saw the incompatibility of Chrisianity and Nazism and was one who refused to compromise. As a result, he was soon forbidden to preach or enter Berlin. For several years he served in an illegal Church Training College. He left Germany in 1939 with the help of American friends, but he soon felt compelled to return to his own people. He continued his fearless preaching until his formal arrest in April, 1943. During his imprisonment he took advantage of every opportunity to witness, and much of his writing was done in prison. He was executed on April 9, 1945, at Flossenburg Concentration Camp just a few days before the camp was liberated.

The witness Bonhoeffer made through his life and death gives his book added forcefulness. His style, though clear and interesting, demands close and thoughtful attention. The book presents in modern setting much of the early Anabaptist concept of discipleship.

A theme recurring many times through the pages of the book is that discipleship means, first and foremost, a complete, unrestrained, absolute obedience to Jesus Christ. He states this clearly in such passages as "there is no other road to faith or discipleship, only obedience to the call of Jesus." "The life of discipleship is not the hero worship we would pay to a good master, but obedience to the Son of God." The author believes many modern ministers preach a "cheap grace," a gospel of "forgiveness without repentance, baptism without discipleship, grace without disciple-

ship, without the cross, without Jesus Christ." He seeks to point out the right relationship between grace and discipleship.

Suffering is an integral part of the life of discipleship. If people choose this road, then they should expect to be misunderstood, hated, and to suffer. In the chapter "Discipleship and the Cross" he states, "the disciple is a disciple in so far as he shares his Lord's suffering and rejection and crucifixion." Discipleship means the cross and this includes rejection and shame as well as suffering. The true disciple should be happy to be counted worthy to suffer for Him who died for us.

Discipleship also means separation, a complete cutting off from the old, a sharp break with the world, and becoming a new creature. The standards of discipleship are very exacting. The author uses the Sermon on the Mount to point out the large gap between those who take seriously the call to follow Christ and those who are nominal Christians. The disciple is different—nonconformed to the world—in all areas of his life. This includes his attitude toward overcoming evil and his attitude toward material things. In speaking about overcoming evil he says, "The church must patiently endure aggression. Otherwise the remedy will be as bad as the disease. Resistance merely creates further evil and adds fuel to the flame." "The disciple's behavior," says Bonhoeffer, "must be determined not by the way others treat him but by the treatment he himself receives from Jesus." This ability to love in the face of unresponsiveness, hostility, and hate comes from Christ alone and is characterized by the author as the "extraordinary." It is exactly this quality of the "peculiar, the extraordinary, the unusual" which makes the Christian different from other men.

There are some points on which readers may disagree with the author. Some will question his position on infant baptism, his discussion on the nature of the church, or his position on nonresistance even though much of his writings indicate a deep and sympathetic understanding of this position. The book is stimulating and helpful; it may leave the reader feeling somewhat uncomfortable and dissatisfied with his own life and witness. This book should be of special interest to Mennonite readers because their Anabaptist heritage, as well as more recent Mennonite literature, has had much to say about discipleship.

*Goshen College* Atlee Beechy

*Erfahrungen der Mennoniten in Canada Während des Zweiten Weltkrieges.* 1939-1945. [Edited by David P. Reimer. Printed by Derksen Printers Ltd., Steinbach, Manitoba, 1947?] Pp. 177.

Following an introductory historical statement reviewing the developments 1939-1945 with respect to Mennonite conscientious objectors in Manitoba, written by David P. Reimer, Giroux, Manitoba (pp. 1-35), this book presents the minutes of forty meetings of representatives of the Mennonite churches held in Manitoba from May 15, 1939, to August 23, 1946 (pp. 42-177). Between these two sections, the Turner, Oregon, Statement of Position on Peace, War, and Military Service, adopted by the Mennonite General Conference in 1937, is presented in English (pp. 36-42).

While the first recorded meeting of May 15, 1939, represented all the Mennonite groups of all Canada, all the other recorded meetings represented only the Mennonite groups in Manitoba, eight in number, although several smaller congregations in Alberta and Saskatchewan, daughter settlements of the groups in Manitoba, were also represented. Two of the

ten Manitoba groups, the Mennonite Brethren and the Blumenort congregation of the General Conference in Canada, dropped out of the meetings after the meeting of October 14, 1940, since they disagreed with the position of the majority in Manitoba which was against offering alternative service for C.O.'s, particularly medical corps service. The remaining eight groups stood together solidly throughout the war, functioning through a committee of elders known as the *Aeltesten-Ausschuss,* which in turn had a smaller executive committee of three for negotiations with the dominion government in Ottawa and the local draft officials in Winnipeg. All the preachers of the eight groups in Manitoba met in fairly regular semiannual meetings (at times oftener) for a total of twenty recorded sessions. The elders' committee met less frequently.

The minutes of the various sessions reflect faithfully the sturdy attitude of the great body of the Manitoba Mennonites of all branches on complete nonparticipation in war and military service, including noncombatant service. Here there was no weakening or compromise of the position which led their forefathers to come to Manitoba from Russia in 1873ff. The minutes of the session of 1940 record the unfortunate difference of position between the "new" immigrants of 1923ff. from Russia, who were also nonresistant but were inclined toward a compromise with the state on alternative service, some, particularly the Mennonite Brethren, to the point of accepting medical corps service. Fortunately, this latter was not required by the Canadian government, and when an alternative forestry service was set up both the "old" and the "new" groups participated in it and worked side by side in the camps.

This is a valuable basic source book for the history of the Mennonites in Canada during the World War II, limited of course to Manitoba. It is regrettable that to date the total history of the Canadian Mennonites during the war has not been written, and that not even a good account of the alternative service work has appeared. The Canadian Mennonites are a large and weighty part of the Mennonitism of North America. They owe it to themselves and to their coreligionists in the United States and the rest of the world to give a better account of their faith, life, and activities in historical, analytical, and interpretative reports. The "Erfahrungen" is only a very small, though valuable, contribution to this end.

*Goshen College* Harold S. Bender

*Conscientious Objection.* By Lt. Col. Neal M. Wherry. Washington, D.C.: Selective Service System, 1950. Special Monograph No. 11. Vol. I, text. Pp. 364, bibliography, index; $1.25. Vol. II, appendices. Pp. 288. $1.00.

*Pathways to Peace,* appearing in 1948, is the official Brethren account of their experiences with Civilian Public Service during World War II. The Mennonite angle of this epoch was recorded in *Service for Peace,* published in 1949. The third major study in the field comes not from a peace church but from that section of Selective Service which dealt with objectors to war during those years.

General Lewis B. Hershey states in his introduction to this book, "The basic law of the System gave recognition to the fundamental problem of honest conviction against war. So, for more than six years of operation, special attention was given to the selective process as it pertained to the mobilization of two distinct types of conscientious objectors who were militarily liable registrants: (1) those willing to perform military service

only of a noncombatant nature and (2) those unwilling to perform any kind of military service whatsoever. Monograph No. 11 treats exhaustively of conscientious objection in World War II and provides, in addition, a historical background regarding it."

The author of this government study is Neal M. Wherry, who during part of the war served in the Legal and Classification Section of Selective Service, an office dealing with the objectors. Although his work brought him into contact with law violators among the conscientious objectors, and although he expresses strong feelings against "the few assignees in the C.P.S. camps who attempted to break down the respect of the entire group for law and order," he is nevertheless convinced that the civilian work program was planned soundly, that it worked generally satisfactorily, and that it was a "usually good story," wherein the problems were caused chiefly by "a very small number of Class IV-E registrants." Having read the Wherry account in manuscript form several years ago and having reread sections of the published work recently, this reviewer is of the opinion that *Conscientious Objection* is a remarkably objective production, worthy of the serious study not only of government officials but of church leaders also.

Helping Wherry with his writing assignment were Col. Lewis F. Kosch and Mr. Austin S. Imirie, chief and assistant chief respectively of Camp Operations. The manuscript finally was cleared by a committee of ten, including nine army officers.

Chapter I presents an introduction to the relations of Selective Service to conscientious objectors, defining the twelve different types distinguished by the Department of Justice. In the next chapter the church backgrounds of conscientious objectors are discussed. The Mennonites receive a two-page treatment, including a long quotation from the 1937 Mennonite Church statement on "Peace, War, and Military Service." Especially helpful are the several pages of quotations giving the official position upholding conscientious objection of twelve non-pacifist denominations.

Thirty-eight pages are given to a review of conscientious objection in American history, with special emphasis upon the experiences of World War I. The next two chapters explain the legislative provisions on conscientious objection, 1940-1947, and conscientious objector regulations during those years. Chapter VI is especially valuable, for in dealing with C.O.'s who performed noncombatant service, statistics are given that were not generally known before the publication of this monograph. "Conscientious objectors who performed noncombatant duty totaled some 25,000 over the 6½ years of the System's operation." Chapters follow discussing the IV-E classification, and general principles and policies of objector classification.

A long chapter takes up the civilian work program for C.O.'s, discussing considerations in establishing camps, the kinds of work performed, and the co-operation of the government and the churches in the operation of the camps. The life of C.O.'s in camp and the work accomplished by these men are considered in Chapters X and XI. This section is summarized with "In the main, however, the assignees fulfilled their obligation under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 in a creditable manner and without complaining personally." There were, however, serious problems of camp order and discipline (Chapter XII): the monograph, therefore, recommends that "in the future there should be but one authority within a camp, preferably a government official who is an employee of the technical agency concerned with the project." The objectors who violated

the law and court decisions involving conscientious objection are next treated. Chapters XV and XVI take up the separation of C.O.'s from C.P.S. camps and a statistical review of conscientious objectors. Here the number of Mennonites assigned to C.P.S. is given as 4,610 in contrast to 4,665, the figure of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors.

An excellent summary of Volume I appears in the last chapter under "Conscientious Objection—Past, Present, and Future." Especially helpful for the peace churches will be the twelve lessons from conscientious objection experience listed on pp. 338-342. These are important enough to be summarized here: (1) any future draft law should make provision "for civilian duty in work of national importance"; (2) the drafted C.O. should be given more rights and privileges in the next law, including pay and family allowance; (3) there should be more effective methods of determining the validity of claims for a C.O. classification, with more help available from the Justice Department; (4) there should be provisions for immediate and continuous detention of the troublemakers in the camps so that they can not damage the morale of the camp or the reputation of the program; (5) the camp system should be continued but the camp director should be an employee of the agency for which work is being done; (6) those assigned to C.P.S. camps should be given the same rigid physical and mental examinations as are given to those assigned to the military; (7) objectors who violate Selective Service laws should be tried by the civil courts but these cases should be given priority; (8) the objector who feels that justice has not been done him should be given a prompt hearing; (9) the objector accused of violations should be allowed to comply with the law during court proceedings; (10) there should be established and applied early "comprehensive statistical and other records and reports on the activities of the System in the field"; (11) there should be a "wide variety of regular projects, manual in nature, and also of special ones, skilled and professional"; and (12) much study should be given by the government to camp organization and administration, the national significance of various projects as well as those overseas, and the most effective use of C.O. manpower.

From the above list of proposals it is clear that Selective Service has been aware of the chief criticisms directed by C.P.S. assignees against the plan in operation during World War II and that serious consideration has been given by them to remedies that would overcome these criticisms. The monograph does not, however, face openly the fact that the churches would hesitate to accept exclusively government-operated camps, which are advocated above. Nor has it discussed the problem of how the churches might give a satisfactory spiritual and educational ministry to their drafted men. If a program on this point is not acceptable to the peace churches, the government faces a most difficult task in dealing with thousands of conscientious objectors. Any program that will succeed must, therefore, have the confidence and the support of the peace churches; the alternative is crowded jails, which Selective Service is sincerely desirous of avoiding.

It must be emphasized again, however, that the approach of this monograph is sincere and objective. That certain mistakes made by Selective Service are not amplified in this volume does not argue that they have been overlooked; reading between the lines in the twelve recommendations shows that they are recognized. On the other hand, the churches are not maligned for their mistakes, although they too may profit from this study.

Volume II is a source book for those who wish to study the regulations that governed C.P.S. Appendix A contains two executive orders; B has a Selective Service regulation; C has twenty sets of instructions to Selective Service and War Department Units; D contains fifty-one directives to C.P.S. camps; E presents eight sets of statistics; F displays thirty-four different forms; and G contains three miscellaneous items, including a list of the 151 Civilian Public Service camps.

*Mennonite Research Foundation* Melvin Gingerich

*Die Rosenorter Gemeinde in Saskatchewan in Wort und Bild.* By J. G. Rempel. Druck von D. H. Epp, Rosthern, Saskatchewan, 1950. Pp. 183, illustrated. $2.00, from the author.

This is much more than a history of one congregation in Saskatchewan as might seem from the title, for it is actually the history of a settlement consisting today of 11 churches with more than 1,500 members and 2,500 children under 14 years of age, to say nothing of the several daughter congregations which have gone out from Rosenort "Gemeinde." It is also a collection of biographies, 71 in all, filling over a third of the book, this being the total of all the elders, ministers, deacons, and other special workers in the Rosenort church including those who have served as teachers and as relief workers for longer or shorter terms abroad. The time span covered is not long, as the history of Mennonite churches goes, for the settlement is scarcely 50 years old (1892), the church being organized in July, 1894. But the history is full of interesting reports of activities and organizations, of expansion and progress, and some problems as well, everything that goes into the building of a solid, living Mennonite community.

The main thread of the history is carried through on the concept of the leadership of the successive elders (bishops) who served the church, Peter Regier (ordained as elder in the Rosenort congregation in West Frussia, hence the name of the new community on the Saskatchewan prairies), 1893-1922; David Toews, 1913-1946; Johannes Regier, 1929-1946; and Johann G. Rempel, the author of the book, 1946- . Actually J. Regier was only assistant bishop, and the dominant personality throughout most of the history of Rosenort was David Toews, truly one of the great leaders of Canadian Mennonitism. It is worthy of note that two of elders (the Regiers father and son) were born in West Prussia, and two in Russia. Rosenort is one of the few churches in North America where elements from West Prussia, Russia, and Canada (Manitoba) were successfully welded together into one harmonious working unity.

Rosenort is one of the outstanding Mennonite communities in Canada by the reason of its contributions to the larger Canadian Mennonite life. Only a rural prairie settlement, with a small village, Rosthern, as its center, some 40 miles north of Saskatoon, it nevertheless became a remarkable center of influence. Here is the only (to date) fully developed Mennonite Junior College in Canada—there never has been a senior college—also a Bible school. Here was the headquarters of the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization, whose remarkable and successful leader for a quarter of a century (1922-47), often against heavy odds, was none other than David Toews, the Rosenort elder, who was also for much of the time the president of the Canadian General Conference and president of the board of the Rosthern school. Here also has been the place of publication of the Canadian Mennonite journal, *"Der Bote,"* for a quarter of a century, with

D. H. Epp the veteran teacher and editor as its publisher until its recent taking over by the General Conference. And now there is also a conference Mennonite bookstore in Rosthern. No other Mennonite community in Canada, at least until recently, has had such vigorous and dynamic leaders whose ministry has reached far out into the Mennonite world and beyond.

Rempel's well-written chronicle covers a broad scope of interest besides the direct ecclesiastical organization. Among the topics are singing and choristers, mutual aid, war and nonresistance, inner life, alcohol, Sunday school, and church buildings. In spite of the full fare, I hope it will not seem too much to wish that the author had treated more fully certain other topics, such as the economic development of the community, relations to the state and to the non-Mennonite community, type of piety, young people's problems, etc. There must have been much of interest in these areas also. However, we can be grateful to the author that at last a good history of at least one major Mennonite settlement in Canada of Russian Mennonite background has been produced. How long must we wait for the other settlement histories, and how long must we wait for a good comprehensive history of Mennonitism in Western Canada? Where are the Mennonite scholars of either General Conference or Mennonite Brethren or any other group who will do the jobs that need so urgently to be done for Canadian Mennonitism? Where, in short, is Canadian Mennonite scholarship? Let the younger generation rise up to the challenge.

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